R.11.49.

A DISCOURSE CONCERNING THE ORIGINAL OF THE POVVDER-PLOT:

Together with a Relation of the

CONSPIRACIES AGAINST Queen Elizabeth

And the Perſecutions of the

PROTESTANTS In *FRANCE*

To the death of *Henry* the Fourth.

Collected out of *Thuanus*, *Davila*, *Perefix*, and ſeveral other Authors of the Roman Communion;

As alſo Reflections upon *Bellarmine*'s Notes of the Church, &c.

LONDON;

Printed for *John Leigh* at the Sign of the *Blew-Bell* by *Flying-horſe*-Court in *Fleet-ſtreet*, 1674.



462.07

TO THE
READER.

An Account of the *Occaſion*, *Matter*, *Method* and *Manner of Writing of* the *Diſcourſe* annexed *with the Reaſons* of it.

THE Narration of the Gun-powder Treaſon *by Thuanus being commended to me, after I had look'd into it, I perſwaded a friend to tranſlate it into Engliſh, which being done, I gave it to the Book-ſeller to print, and for a* Preface *to it wrote the firſt Sect. of the Diſcourſe, not intending any more than that: which was printed, but not all the ſheets wrought off, when having met with that notable* paſſage of Del Rio *briefly cited in a Book lately printed, and peruſing the ſame more at Large in Del Rio himſelf, I thought it worthy of further conſideration; and therefore ordered the Printer not to work off that Preface, but go on with the Tranſlation of Thuanus, and the while wrote ſo much of the enſuing Diſcourſe as concerns* THE ORIGINAL OF THE POWDER-PLOT, *that is to Sect.* 24; *(though the whole Diſcourſe through want of timely notice to the Printer bears that* Title*); and that was all I then intended. But when I came to the concluſion of that part, I began to perceive that* COMBINATION OF ROME AND SPAIN AGAINST ENGLAND, *which continued all the time of Queen Elizabeths Reign, and doth not a little confirm what had been ſaid in the former part of the Diſcourſe: and though I thought that the former part of the Diſcourſe did not ſtand much in need of confirmation from this, yet I thought it very pertinent and uſeful to ſhew that Combination in their various practices againſt that Queen, but as briefly as I could. This continues to Sect.* 37. *nor did I then intend more. But reflecting upon the admirable Providence of God in preſerving that bleſſed Queen from ſo many and ſo various attempts againſt her, and in my turning over of Thuanus for the Story of the Combination having perceived ſomething of the unhappy*

iſſue of her Neighbours Perſecutions of the Profeſſors of that Reformed Religion which ſhe happily eſtabliſhed and defended, I began to perceive ſomething of that DISTINGUISHING PROVIDENCE, *which is very Obſervable and Remarkable in the enſuing part of the Diſcourſe to Sect.* 61. *Wherefore having curſorily run over ſome of the principal parts of that Story, and ſatisfied my ſelf that it would make good what I undertook, I thought it an unworthy piece of lazineſs or negligence not to add that part alſo, ſo pertinent, ſo remarkable and neceſſary; but hoped to have done it more briefly than I found I well could, when I again ſet my ſelf to the peruſal of the Hiſtory. Having finiſhed this, I made ſome Reflections upon the whole and thereupon added the* OBSERVATIONS, Inferences *and the reſt which make up the laſt part and concluſion. And this was the* Occaſion, *this the* Matter *and* Method *of the Diſcourſe. Now for the* Manner of writing it; *when I began I was wholly a ſtranger to the Story, and to all or moſt of the Books I have made uſe of; had never read two leaves in Thuanus, ſave part of the Hiſtory of the Powder-Plot; had never ſeen Davila; had only occaſionally, if at all, looked into any other of the Books I have made uſe of. Beſides being moſt of it written in the Countrey, and my own ſtock being but ſhort, I could not have that aſſiſtance from variety of Books which I deſired; and yet it pleaſed God many things fell in my way beyond my expectation; and* the Authors *I have generally uſed are ſuch whoſe Authority is beyond all exception, the incomparable Thuanus, Davila, Perefix, and others of the Roman Communion; for I have but rarely followed any Writers of the Reformed Religion, and more rarely without the concurrent authority of others. But what is moſt conſiderable, the greateſt part being ſent away in ſingle ſheets by the Poſt as it was written, I could neither my ſelf have the peruſal of the entire work together, nor have it peruſed by my friends before it was printed. This I mention for my excuſe of ſuch* miſtakes *as poſſibly may occur in it. For I did not deſign to injure the Truth in any particular, nor have I to my knowledg done it in any thing material; only Sect.* 12. *you will meet with* Lovain in Flanders, *which perhaps is in Brabant, though by Flanders I then meant that part of the Low-*

Countries

Countries which was then under the King of Spain or the Archdukes Obedience; and I know the name Flanders is used in as large a sense by many, and commonly by the Italians, and Sect. 34. *pag.* 48. *'tis said*, he made them amends for it afterwards, *whereas that excommunication there mentioned was before, which I did not then observe when I wrote it. Again* Sect. 42. *pag.* 74. *you'l find, the D. of Tuscany* [*Father to the Qu: Mother*] *which is a mistake; for he was of the same Family, and succeeded her Brother, but was not her Father; and therefore the Reader may either amend it, or quite strike it out. But these are such mistakes as are rarely escaped by those who write at more leisure, and are no prejudice at all to the Story. If any other mistake that is material shall come to my knowledge, whether by my own observation, or the information of any other, whether friend or foe, I will not fail, God willing publickly to acknowledge the same, and if this discourse shall be thought worthy of another Edition, to reform it. For I approve not the use of* Piæ Fraudes, *and think Lying and Slandering, as always unlawful and unworthy of a Christian; so where matters of Religion are concerned, to be prophane and sacrilegious. The God of Truth is able to defend his own cause, the Truth, without such wicked shifts; and when he pleaseth to suffer it to be oppressed for a time; he doth with great wisdom permit it; but in the mean time allows not us to vindicate it by such indirect means whereby we do, as much as in us lyes, oppose the design and course of his Providence.* Numquid Deus indiget vestro mendacio, ut pro illo loquamini dolos? *Job.* 13. 7. *But if my hast hath made me in any thing through mistake to mis-represent any actions of the Papists to their prejudice, it is likely it hath made me overlook as much more which might have been said against them. Nor have I thereby so much injured them, as they have injured themselves and their cause by such indirect and wicked practises as are beyond all contradiction, to the great scandal of the most Holy Christian Religion; which is that which in some places hath made my expressions more sharp than what otherwise I should have used. Nor had it not been for that, and for the great danger I apprehend our Country to be in by their restless mysterious pra-*

ctises

ctices, for the discovery and prevention whereof, the discovery of their former Policies and Practices may be of good use, should I have delighted in such an undertaking. I have otherwise no prejudice against them, and could heartily wish that all which I have written had been false; but since it is not only too true, but we are still in danger from the same principles, though the manner and method of their operation and practice, may in some respects be altered, I cannot but think the undertaking both lawful and necessary. Nor is the honour of Religion ever a whit secured by palliating the irreligious practices of spurious Professors; but better vindicated by publickly detecting and condemning; and, where there is a just Authority, condignly punishing or correcting them. This is more agreeable to the will of God, and the course and methods of his Providence, who useth not to dissemble the most secret miscarriages of his dearest children, but either to detect them, and bring them to light, to the end they may be punished by the Ministers of his Justice; or, if they, through want of knowledge, power, or fidelity, do fail therein, to do it himself by his Divine Judgments upon the offenders, unless they prevent the same by timely and seriously judging themselves. But still it may be objected; but why such haste? If it must be published, why not upon more mature deliberation? Why not the Errata though never so inconsiderable first corrected? and perhaps, why not the stile first better smoothed and polished, and some things removed to their proper places? I answer, If we must stay till we can be secure against all mistakes, we should have very few books ever published; but it is sufficient if we can be secure for the main, whereof I am very well satisfyed as to this work; and for the stile and ornaments, which most concern my self, they were not tanti *with me, who neither undertook it, nor proceeded in it upon self-respect: but besides, I was beyond my first intention ingaged in it, and the Press was at work, and being so engaged, I endeavoured to have kept pace with it, if I could; though I had before little thoughts of ever appearing in Print, and much disliked that precipitate way of writing books, which by Fortius Ringelbergius is recommended to his Students, and do still dislike it, unless upon special occasion. And indeed that which was a*

special

To the Reader.

ſpecial motive and incitement to me to haſten it what I could, was the conſideration of the forwardneſs, activity and buſie practices of the Popiſh Emiſſaries and Agents, and of ſome others influenced by them further than they themſelves are aware of, and the dangerous conſequence thereof not only to the ſubverſion of the reformed Religion, and the Scandal of Chriſtianity it ſelf; but alſo to the ſubverſion of our Government, as the moſt effectual method for promoting their deſigns, and diſturbance of the Peace of the Kingdom. But theſe things I have touched toward the end of the Diſcourſe, and therefore ſhall add no more here, but only deſire the Readers favour to correct ſome of the more material errors of the Preſs, as is here after directed, and to bear with the reſt:

Errors of the Preſs in the Diſcourſe to be corrected as followeth:

PAge 1. line 10. *and* alſo l. 17. Reader) l. 18. others; yet, p. 2. l. 27. *an* old, p. 4. l. 26. Confeſſor. *but*, This, p. 5. l. 15. confeſſion, p. 6. l. 1. *contrivance*, l. 5. *nothing* more, p. 7. l. 1. and p. 8. l. 32. Machinations, p. 9. l. 2. Eroccard l. 4. Turk l. 8. dele (*Camden* 1600. p. 769.) and put it in the Margin at lin. 10. l. 27. 4. Nor p. 12. l. 31. we *may* again, p. 13. l. 1. that *we* find, p. 14. l. 22. Ducæus l. 23. 7. Non. Jul p. 15. l. 32. Sarcte, l. 33. c. 2. ſub fin, p. 19. l. 25. Incendiaries, p. 20. l. 20. Care, l. 22. 1. in, p. 25. l. 27. Wilton, l. 29. certainly, l. 32. Lopez, p. 27. l. 33. but the ſame, p. 29. l. 9. for Pincia read *Villadolit*, p. 30. l. 13 p 31, l. 10. p. 32. l. 16. Ridolph, p. 31. l. 15. faillir, p. 32. l. 17. p. 35 l. 6. p. 46. l. 27. aureos, p. 33. l. 16. Lord Darnly, p. 36. in marg. Collect. of the *Felicities of Qu. Eliz.* p. 40. l. 25. Creighton, p. 50. l. 31. Lopez (*with his* complices) Cullen, p. 52. l. 22. Fitz-Girald, *then to John Fitz-Girald*, and laſtly, p. 59. 33. ſame *time* that, p. 60. l. 5. *with* whom, p. 61. l. 9. du Bourg, p. 62. l. 23. Olivier, p. 67. l. 36. Edict of July, p. 71. l. 27. Sect. 42. For, p. 72. l. 12. Legates, p. 73. l. 4. whiles, it, p. 74. l. 2. Valois, who, l. 5. ſecret, p. 75. l. 2. contrived, l. 34. Reſcripts, p. 80. l. 34. *And* with, p. 82. l. 1. This done, away goes, l. 26. deteſted, p. 83. l. 6. Marchands, l. 21. Telinius, p. 86. l. 10. way deſigned, p. 90. l. 2. with *the*, p. 94. l. 8. bewrayed, l. 19. deteſted, p. 95. l. 3. *as* did, l. 13. that than *that* never, p. 96. l. 27. exagitates, p. 97. l. 23. *ſuperſtition*, ibid. Succeſſor, l. 30. for obduration r. *obcecation*, p. 98. l. 9. 600, or 700, p 102. l. 16. and p. 103. l. 10. Sancerre, p. 103. l. 19. Talar, l. 20. others

l. 35.

l. 35. a *Fift* Civil War, p. 110. l. 26. reasons he gave him, *put him* in mind, p. 111 l. 11. concourse, l. 38. instructed, p. 113. l. 24. Lords, p. 114. l. 32. Vincennes, p. 120. l. 22. dele *not*, p. 122. l. 19. Aumale, *at Senlis*, p. 123. l. 7. unexpected, ibid. in marg. mensibus, l. 33. *lint*, p. 124. l. 17. give, p. 126. l. 2. *man*, l. 15, 16. *in the* exit, p. 128. l. 2. inexorable, p. 129. l. 37. *the* established, p. 130. l. 19. *the* Guises, p. 133. l. 17. dele *of*, l. ult. drawn *of*, p. 134. l. 6. impostures, l. 9. 11. Landrianus, p. 136. l. 26. an adscitious, p. 138. l. 33. incentors, p. 139. l. 2. instant stooping, p. 141. l. 22. *that* in places, p. 145. l. 4. Evaristus, l. 5. Aquaviva, p. 147. l. 10. 15. Commolet, p. 148. l. 34. which *yet* the Pope contends is, p. 154. l. 17. from *doing* it, p. 155. l. 3 Aquaviva, p. 156. l. 8. *which* as, p. 158. l. 1. parry; touches, l. 18. conseil, p. 159. l. 14. p. 160. l. 8, 14, 29. p. 161. l. 14 Ridicove, p. 161. l. 1. Clement, l. 10. confession, l. 37. Sarta, p. 162. l. 25. Balth, p. 168. l. 27. terror, p. 172. l. 7. in hand, p. 175. l. 14. or, as some say, decree and command of, p. 177. l. 12. Κυρίαν δόξαν, p. 181. l. 25. all *sincere* Christians.

Insert

Pag. 10. l. 12. — to conceive. Or rather being more particular secrets, and more worthy of observation, they are reserved for private conference with his Majesty, as not fit to be committed to paper; as he saith, c. 27. *sub fin.*

Pag. 57. l. 2. — Spain, for three weeks before troubled with a perpetual flux of blood through all the passages of his body, (Perefix p. 163.) and at last, if not —

A Diſcourſe concerning the Original of the Powder Plot.

Sect. 1. ALthough *ſeveral Relations of this Conſpiracy* have been long ſince written and publiſhed in Engliſh, both by ſeveral writers of the Hiſtory of thoſe times and others who have inſerted theſame *among other Hiſtorical Relations*, as *Stow* in his Annals, *pag.* 874. *Speed* in his Hiſtory of Great Britain, *l.* 10. *ſ.* 31. -- The Appendix to the Book of Martyrs *Fuller* in his Church Hiſtory, Biſhop *Carleton* in his Hiſtorical Collection of Deliverances, and of late by Mr. *Foulis* in his Hiſtory of Popiſh Treaſons, *lib.* 10. *cap.* 2. And alſo *alone*, as King *James* his Diſcourſe of the manner of *the Diſcovery* of the Powder Treaſon, Printed in *quarto*, 1605. but without his name to it, and ſince in his works 1616. *pag.* 223. and *the Proceedings* againſt the late Traitors, Printed in *quarto*, 1606. (whereof neither is more than what the title doth import, and the latter inlarged with long Speeches, which poſſibly may ſeem tedious to the Reader, and it may be ſome others; (yet becauſe many (as well for the rare and admirable contrivance and diſcovery of the Plot, as becauſe we are all obliged to the Annual Commemoration of it) may be deſirous to read ſome Relation of it, who yet may not be willing to purchaſe thoſe larger works, and thoſe Relations of it which have been Printed alone, being now long ſince out of Print and therefore rarely to be met with: It was thought convenient to *publiſh this Tranſlation out of Thuanus*, rather than to reprint any of the other; and that *for theſe Reaſons*: 1. Becauſe it ſeems to be *more compleate* than moſt or any one of the other Relations, which have yet been Printed in Engliſh,

whether alone or incidentally in larger works. 2. But eſpecially, in reſpect of the Great *Authority of the Author*, a perſon, not only of great *Quality and Place* in his Country, Privy Counſellor to the King of *France* and Preſident of the Supreme Senate of that Kingdom, but of *known and confeſſed Candor, Impartiality, Faithfulneſs and Exactneſs, as an Hiſtorian.* And being one who lived and dyed *a Catholick* in the Communion of the Church of *Rome*, his Authority hath in that reſpect ſome advantage above any of the other Relations, which have been written by any of the Reformed party: which of it ſelf may be ſufficient to refute the Impudence and vanity of all ſuch as would have had the world believe that it was the contrivance either of the * Puritans, (*V. Speed Sect.* 48. *Wilſons* Hiſtory of King *James*, *pag.* 32. *Foulis pag.* 690.) or of *Cecil* the then Secretary, to draw thoſe unhappy Gentlemen into it. (*V. Foulis, pag.* 694. The Papiſts *Apol.* anſwered *pag.* 31 -- 33. *edit.* 1667.) the contrary whereof may eaſily be perceived in the ſeries of this Relation. And indeed the firſt of theſe projects was extinguiſhed almoſt with the plot; and the other hath been long ſince ſufficiently diſproved, and the plot it ſelf confeſſed by ſome, and defended, magnified, and gloried in by others of that party, and now ſcarce denyed by any to have been of their own contrivance; ſo that more need not now be ſaid as to that particular, though the following conſiderations, if need were, might be made uſe of in that reſpect.

* This bloudy deſign, found in the hands of the malefactors, was notwithſtanding father'd upon the Puritans (as *Nero* did the burning of *Rome* upon the Chriſtians) by ſome impudent and cunning Jeſuits --- Which, ſome years after, I had opportunity at *Bruges* in *Flanders*, to make *Weſton*, and old Jeſuit, active in the Powder plot, ingenuouſly to confeſs, *Wilſon, ibid.*

2. *This deſign* of Blowing up the Prince and People together, hath been commonly taken to have been *the contrivance* of *Catesby*, and of no ancienter *Original* than their deſpair of foreign aſſiſtance, upon their laſt negotiation with *Spain.* Of that mind ſeems our Hiſtorian here to have been, *pag.* 3. And the truth is, there is ſcarce to be found in print any direct and expreſs proof of other author and contriver or more ancient original of it, though poſſibly we may ere long ſee it further proved to have been deſigned in the Queens days

So alſo *Speed, Sect.* 33, 37. *Proceed.* E 4.

days againſt her, but upon further conſideration of her age, not likely, according to the courſe of nature, to live long, deferred till the coming in of King *James*. In the mean time it may be remembred what is often ſeen in Judicatories and *Tryals of Cauſes* both Civil and Criminal, that thoſe things and works of darkneſs which are carried on and managed with ſo much ſecrecy and caution, that no *direct proof* can be made againſt them, are notwithſtanding often diſcovered and brought to light by a heedful and circumſpect obſervation and comparing of *circumſtances*: inſomuch, that the evidence of the truth, which is by this means made out, is not ſeldom more ſatisfactory to all preſent, than the direct and expreſs proof and teſtimonies of witneſſes, which many times prove falſe, even then when they ſeem to be moſt full and punctual. And therefore to prove this contrivance proceeded *from other heads than* Catesby's *alone* and was *of longer ſtanding* than hath been commonly thought, what is yet wanting in direct proofs, may in ſome meaſure be made up by the conſideration of the following Circumſtances.

3. And firſt, it may be noted that though Catesby *be the firſt of all theſe Conſpirators* taken in this plot *that did propoſe it* to the reſt, for ought appears by what was diſcover'd at their examination and tryals, yet doth it not thence follow but it might have been *before propoſed to him* (being the moſt active of them) *by ſome other:* nor doth it any way appear that it was of his own only deviſing, as to omit other reaſons is manifeſt from their attempt who would have fathered it upon *Cecil*, as a trick to enſnare thoſe gentlemen; for otherwiſe there would have been no ground or colour for that pretenſe.

4. It may 2. be remembred that this was *not the firſt time* that this means, by *blowing up by Gunpowder*, hath been *propoſed* by confederates of that party for the deſtruction and murther of our Princes. For it had been long before propoſed by one *Moody* to be laid under Queen *Elizabeth*'s bed and ſecretly fired. (*Camden, Anno* 1587. *principio.*) So that this may ſeem to have been but a further improvement of a former project.

5. But 3. to come nearer to this preſent buſineſs, There is *a paſſage of the Jeſuite* Del Rio, *6. Diſquiſ. Magic. cap. 1. edit. Lovan.* 1600. which, with the concurrence of other circumſtances, makes it very ſuſpitious that he was privy to the Contrivance, if not the Author of it; and which though publiſhed in Print ſome years before the diſcovery of this plot, hath ſcarce been taken notice of, as to this purpoſe, till of late. And this it is,

Pag. 154. *Sect. 2. This Section,* ſaith he, *I add by reaſon of the ſimplicity of ſome Confeſſors, and the raſhneſs and malice of ſome Judges,* &c. Then he firſt gives us this note, that *the Seal of Confeſſion hath the ſame force in all crimes even the moſt enormous; as in the crime of Treaſon*, and then makes a diſtinction between offences committed, and offences to be committed, and as to offences committed, he ſays *it is the opinion of ſome, which ſeems to be the common opinion of the Canoniſts, that the prieſt may reveal the offence already committed, which he hath learn'd, not in the Sacrament of Penance, but without it, under a promiſe of ſecrecy, and of the ſeal of Confeſſion; yea that he ought to reveal it before the Judge if he be produced for a witneſs. This*
Pag. 155. *opinion*, ſaith he, *is rejected by others* —— but *I think both probable, but the latter more ſafe.* Then, *as to offences to be committed, when a perſon will not abſtain or amend himſelf but reſolves to accompliſh the crime, there hath been ſome Juriſts*, ſaith he, *that have thought, that they may be revealed by the Confeſſor. This is a dangerous opinion, and withdraws men from Confeſſion*; and therefore he concludes that, *the common contrary opinion is altogether to be followed, That it is not lawful to detect, not even Treaſon againſt the ſtate.* In order to a further proof of this Concluſion, he tells us what limitations they of this opinion do put upon it, this among the reſt, *If the penitent have partners accomplices, and he indeed is penitent and promiſes amendment, but he diſcovers that yet there is danger ſtill, leſt while he deſiſts, the miſchief be committed by his accomplices: For then they think that, to prevent the future damage, the Prieſt may reveal the offence which is to be committed, although the penitent conſent not.* And, as to this limitation, he ſays it depends

pends upon this Queſtion, *Whether a Prieſt may at any time make uſe of the diſcovery, which he hath made from Confeſſion, ſo much as for government and the averting of imminent evils?* which he illuſtrates with this Inſtance, *A Malefactor* [Maleficus] *confeſſes that himſelf or ſome other hath put Powder or ſomething elſe under ſuch an entry* (*or groundſel,*) *and except it be taken away the houſe will be burnt, the Prince deſtroyed, and as many as go into or out of the City will come to great miſchief or hazard*; and then for ſome reaſons reſolves for the Negative, (contrary to the common ſenſe and opinion of almoſt all the Doctors, as he there acknowledgeth,) whereof this is one, *viz. becauſe* Pope *Clement* VIII. *by his decree had commanded the Superiors of the Regulars to be moſt diligently cautious that they ſhould not make uſe of that knowledge of ſins, which they had by confeſſion for exterior government: which ſhews* ſaith he, *that the Pope doth moſt approve that opinion, which will have Confeſſors ſo to carry themſelves, as if they had heard nothing at all in confeſſion.* At length from this Doctrine he draws theſe Conſequences. The 1. to this purpoſe, *If* one Malefactor *confeſſing, among the circumſtances of his ſin, diſcover his partner* (in it,) *and the other alſo preſently* comes and *confeſſes; but conceals that ſin wherein he was partner with the other, the Confeſſor may not uſe this knowledge to examine him concerning that ſin* (which his partner hath confeſſed.) The 2. is, *That a Prieſt may not, no, not for fear of death threatned him, reveal this crime to any one; and that in that caſe he may ſay that he knows not, nor hath heard any thing of ſuch ſin; becauſe in truth he doth not know, nor hath heard it, as* (he is) *a man, or as a member of the Commonwealth,* (but as a Prieſt.) *Yea, he might ſay that he hath not heard it in Confeſſion, or that the accuſed perſon hath not confeſſed this to him, if he do* but the while *think in his mind,* (viz. *ſo, that I may reveal it;*) *and all theſe he may confirm upon Oath. Nor may the Prieſt be compelled to reveal it by any one, no not by the Pope, much leſs by any other.* This paſſage hath ſo many *ſuſpicious circumſtances* both in it and concurring with it, as all together may be equivalent to a full and direct proof of what is ſaid, that *Del Rio* was Pag. 156.

privy

privy to the conrivuance of this horrible Powder Plot, if not himſelf the Contriver of it.

6. For 1. if we conſider the *Nature of the Inſtance*, nothing could have been better *fitted to expreſs this plot* of blowing up the Prince and People together; more *agreeing in all particulars*; by burning a houſe, not firing a City; deſtroying Prince and People, King and Parliament, not the Prince alone, or alſo with his family and houſhold only; by powder, not by poiſon, aſſaſination, or open rebellion; by laying it under a houſe, not under a bed as *Moody* propoſed: and all this in ſo *unuſual and extraordinary* a caſe, when inſtances enow and miſchievous enough might have been given of more ordinary and uſual deſigns, and when he had *other Doctors* who write concerning the ſame queſtion under his conſideration, who muſt needs have put other inſtances into his mind, had not this been ſtudied by him, and here made uſe of upon deſign. If any of thoſe Doctors whom he there cites give any ſuch inſtance, he may reaſonably be abſolved from all ſuſpicion which otherwiſe will lie very heavy upon him. But it may be thought that perhaps he did this in *conformity to the ſubject* which he handles, *Magick*; and therefore makes his inſtance of a *Witch or Magitian*, and of *Powders*, and *placed under a groundſel or entry*. But firſt, were there not many *other inſtances* of notorious wickedneſſes more uſual or frequently done or reported to be done by ſuch Artiſts? And ſecondly, was ever any ſuch thing done or pretended or reported to have been done by Art Magick? We may therefore reaſonably ſuſpect that this inſtance was not *deviſed* meerly *for* conformity to his ſubject of Magick; but rather propoſed under that notion and thoſe terms for a blind a little to diſguiſe and hide the deſign from ſuch, as having no thoughts of ſuch enterpriſes, might eaſily be diverted from any ſupition of it, while yet it might be plain enough to ſuch minds, as were ſufficiently diſpoſed to practiſe ſuch projects.

7. And 2. if we conſider *the Caſe, wherein this Inſtance is given*, *viz.* Of Concealing Confeſſions; his *Reſolution* of it, and that contrary to the common ſenſe and opinion of almoſt all

all the Doctors, as he confeſſeth; And laſtly his *Confirmation* of his reſolution by the Authority of the then preſent Pope, and directing the practice of it by equivocation, this may direct us to his *End and Deſign* in divulging both this Inſtance, and in this very caſe, his Doctrine and Reſolution, & that confirmed by the Popes Authority, for concealing Confeſſions, *viz.* By the one to inſinuate and intimate the Contrivance; and by the other to encourage and promote the Practiſe and Execution of it, by confirming the Confeſſors in Concealing Confeſſions, and encouraging the others to the more ſecurity of not being diſcovered. To which end and purpoſe alſo was probably the *Treatiſe of Equivocation* which was found in *Treſhams* lodging, then very ſeaſonably written and deſigned, which was ſeen and allowed by *Garnet*, (*v.* Proceedings *I.*) And this with *Del Rio* ſo mutually conſpiring in a tendency and ſubſerviency to the ſame end, do confirm the conjecture of the deſign of both. And it ſeems very *conſonant to the ſubtile practiſes of the Jeſuites*, rather in this ſly, ſecret manner, underhand to inſinuate this project, than directly and expreſly to have propoſed it: ſo that it had been no great wonder if it had been longer, before it had been apprehended and put in execution; and it is not improbable that *Garnet*, who had been ingaged in former Conſpiracies and held correſpondence in *Flanders*, might long before have knowledge of it, though he would ſeem to have received his firſt knowledge of it, by *Creſwel* from *Catesby*.

V. Foulis, pag. 700.

V. Foulis, pag. 695, 696. *Abbot. Antilogia, cap.* 11.

8. Again 3, if with the form and compoſure of this inſtance, we ſhall compare the *myſterious and enigmatical form and compoſure of ſome other things relating to this conſpiracy*, which are now plain enough to be underſtood, the plain explication of thoſe will teach us how to unriddle the myſtery of this, and direct us how to expound it. Such was that *form of Prayer*, which was taught to ſome of their party, ſome time before the intended execution of this Plot, for the proſperity of their Labours and downfal of Hereſie, *in theſe words*, alluding to the working in the Mine and blowing up of the Houſe: *Proſper, Lord, their pains that labour in thy cauſe day*

day and night: Let Hereſie vaniſh like ſmoak: Let the memory of it periſh with a crack, like the ruine and fall of a broken houſe, (Foulis, pag. 698.) And *that very Letter* which was the occaſion of the happy diſcovery and prevention of that horrible deſign, in theſe words: *Though there be no appearance of any ſtir, yet, I ſay, they ſhall receive a terrible blow this Parliament, and yet they ſhall not ſee who hurts them. This Counſel is not to be contemned, becauſe it may do you good, and can do you no harm; for the danger is paſt as ſoon as you have burn'd this Letter.* To theſe may be added that *rumour* caſt abroad *of another Petition* which ſhould be in no danger of being denied, here mentioned by *Thuanus*, *pag.* 1. And though in its firſt conception, this project was doubtleſs known but to few, yet when once reſolved on, as the time of its execution drew nearer, the more frequent were theſe and ſuch like Indications and Symptoms of it. So *Parſons* Rector of the Engliſh Colledge at *Rome*, orders the Students to *Pray for the Intention of their Father Rector*; the meaning whereof when the diſcovery of the Plot had unriddled to them, the horridneſs of it made divers of them deſert the Colledge. (*Foulis, pag.* 692.) So *the Jeſuites at Lisbon* a little before this exploit ſhould have been acted in *England*, are at ſome expenſe of Powder, on a Feſtival day, to experiment the force of it; (*Foulis*, *page* 693.) And other Inſtances of this nature may be obſerved.

9. Here 4. *The Time when this* notable *Inſtance was publiſhed*, though ſo long before the diſcovery of the Plot, may be very conſiderable, and perhaps afford us greater evidence, than if it had not been publiſhed till ſome years after it was. A time when the Pope and his ſworn * ſervants the Jeſuites were as ſtudious in their Machimations & Contrivances, and active in their exploits, as well againſt all of the Reformed Religion in general, as the Queen and State of *England* in particular, as ever. And 1. for this Pope (*Clem.* VIII. who was elected 30. *Jan.* 1592, and died 2 *Mar.* 160$\frac{4}{5}$.) It was contemporary with the holy league inſtituted by him againſt the Proteſtants, wherein almoſt all Popiſh Princes, except the

* *V.* Review of the Counc. of *Trent. l.* 5. *c.* 7.

the King of *France* and the Great Duke of *Tuſcany* were ingaged, as we are told by *Fr. Brouard* the Popes Secretary, for the promotion whereof he much indeavoured a Peace between the Emperour and the Turk, and often complained that *the war had been continued full forty years againſt the* Turk, *in which time the Church of* Rome *might with leſs coſt have recovered her Authority in* Europe. 2. Contemporary with his Bulls (*Cambden* 1600 *pag.* 769.) to encourage and promote the Iriſh Rebellion. (*V. Foulis, lib. 9. cap.* 3.) 3. Contemporary with thoſe Bulls, the one to the Catholick Nobility, Gentry and Laity, the other to the Arch-prieſt and the reſt of the Engliſh Clergy, *Not to admit or receive, after the death of Queen* Elizabeth, *when ever ſhe ſhould happen to depart this life, any for King, how near ſoever in blood, except they were ſuch who ſhould not only tolerate the Catholick Faith, but withal endeavour and ſtudy to promote it, and, after the manner of their anceſtors, undertake upon Oath to perform it.* (Proceedings Q. 3.) And theſe are the Bulls which have been long ſince deemed the foundation of this Conſpiracy (*Tortura Torti, pag.* 279. *Foulis, pag.* 693.) And this is the Pope who had formerly [*ſc.* * 1597] exhorted the *French* and *Spaniard* to unite, invade *England* and divide it between them. (*Foul. pag.* 677. *ex D'Oſſat. Let.* 87.) who had he lived but ſome few moneths longer, might have been as ready with his *Breves* to ſecond the ſucceſs of this Conſpiracy as was his Succeſſor *Paul* V. with * his. 5. Nor were they only the heads of the Pope and Grandees at *Rome* and other places, who were buſie and active at that time in contriving projects and conſpiracies for the ſubverſion and ruine of our Government and Religion, but of perſons alſo of meaner quality, and they not only the Popiſh Incendiaries of our own Nation, but forreiners alſo of the Romiſh Faction. Thus we may obſerve *Campanella's* book *de Monarchia Hiſpanica* exactly contemporary with this of *Del Rio*, as the Preface to the Engliſh Edition doth demonſtrate, *viz.* that it was written between the years 1599 & 1600. In this book he ſhews in part, *what Preparations may be made before hand; that ſo ſoon as ever Queen* Elizabeth (*who is now*

M S.

Foulis, p. 693.

Speed, fol. 4.
Foulis, p. 693.

* Note, the ſame year that *Parſons* came from *Spain* to *Rome. Font. pag.* 686.

* *V. Andrews Reſp. ad Bellar. cap.* 5. *p.* 113.
Foul. p. 692.

very old) *is dead, they may be immediately put into Execution. Theſe*, ſaith he, and *the like* Preparations *may be made, &c.* But what are *theſe?* Why, in general 1. Cauſing 'Diviſions and Diſſentions among themſelves, and continu-'ally keeping up the ſame. 2. Sowing the ſeeds of a conti-'nual war betwixt *England* and *Scotland*. 3. Rouzing up 'and encouraging to action the Spirits of the Engliſh Catho-'licks. 4. Dealing with the chief of the Iriſh Nobility, to 'new model *Ireland*, as ſoon as they hear of the Queen's death. For the accompliſhing of all which he hath ſeveral ſubſervient means, *Chap.* 25. But for *the like* what they may be, is left to the Readers judgement to conceive. Only it may be noted that he who would not ſcruple to cauſe and keep up Diſſentions, to ſow the ſeeds of a *continual* war, to excite Rebellions among us, would hardly have ſcrupled at ſuch a project, as by one blow would have put us quite out of our pain. It would be too long to note all the Projects of private men to this purpoſe, which were on foot at that time: but this of *Campanella* for the promotion of the Intereſt and deſigns of the King of *Spain* is the more pertinent and obſervable, becauſe our conſpirators had their Negotiations with him, their *Leger* there, and built their greateſt hopes upon his aſſiſtance at the ſame time.

10. But there is an *other particular*, as to this circumſtance of Time, very conſiderable, which is intimated to us in thoſe words of *Campanella*. For as we may eaſily perceive many heads at work at this time, many projects on foot contemporary in the contrivance; ſo do they all agree in *the Time deſigned for Execution.* So *Campanella's* Preparations, *ſo ſoon as ever Queen* Elizabeth *is dead, are immediately to be put in Execution.* So Pope *Clements* Bulls had reſpect to the ſame time, *Quandocunq; contingeret miſeram illam fœminam ex hac vita excedere.* (*Proceed. Q.* 4.) And the Reaſon of all this is very apparent. *For now the King of* Scots, as *Campanella* obſerves, *hovers, as it were, at this time over* England, *not only by reaſon of his neighborhood to it, but alſo becauſe of his Right of Succeſſion.* ——— *And therefore the time now draweth on, that after the death of the ſaid Queen* Elizabeth, *who is now*

Pag. 158.

very

very old, the Kingdom of England *muſt fall into the hands of their Antient and Continual Rivals, the* Scots: a thing very grievous no doubt, both to *Rome*, *Spain* and *Flanders*; and therefore no wonder if all beat their brains to prevent ſo great a miſchief. For whereas *England* alone, notwithſtanding *in a manner continually at wars with their ancient and continual Rivals, appeared both againſt the Catholick King in the Low Countries, and againſt the moſt Chriſtian King in* France, *aſſiſting the Hereticks both with her Counſels and Forces*, what will *Great Britain* do, when not only the occaſion of thoſe wars ſhall ceaſe, but both Nations be united under one and the ſame King? No queſtion but the forethoughts of this ſet wiſer heads on work than *Catesbys*, or any other of thoſe unhappy Gentlemen, who are vainly pretended to have been trapan'd by *Cecil*; and ſomething no doubt was reſolved upon, *the time drawing on, and the Queen very old.* And this might be the reaſon of their long expectation, *that change of State, would change Religion*, alſo (*Speed ſect.* 37.) And if we conſider the Principles and practiſes of theſe men, and what before had been attempted againſt the late Queen, not only by open Hoſtility, as becomes Kings and States where they have juſt cauſe, but alſo by baſe ſecret conſpiracies and treacheries againſt her perſon, inſtigated and fomented, as well by other Princes and by their Embaſſadors, even whilſt Legers here (as *Mendoza* and *Labeſpineus*,) as by the Pope, we can hardly think any thing ſo baſe or barbarous that they were not like to attempt upon *this* occaſion. And if we again conſider, how all their former endeavours, whether more juſtifyable before men, as by open hoſtility, or more baſe and unworthy, not only by promoting rebellions, but alſo by poiſon & aſſaſination, had hitherto been ineffectual and defeated, we may not unreaſonably think that they might at laſt arrive at ſome ſuch project as this, as their laſt refuge and moſt effectual and infallible means to accompliſh at laſt their ſo long ſtudied deſigns. And laſtly that it really was ſo, the punctual obſervance both of *Campanella*'s preparations, by indeavouring to alienate affections and raiſe jealouſies between the *Engliſh* and *Scots*, and other differences and diſſentions

Pag. 158.

Pag. 155.

among us and ſtirring up the ſpirits of the Engliſh Catholicks, &c. which were practiſed immediately upon the Queens death and the Kings coming to the Crown of *England* (and have ever ſince been proſecuted) too long here to be related, and alſo of *Del Rio*'s Inſtance, and Doctrine of Concealing Confeſſions, and that by Equivocation even in examination upon Oath, ſo well fitted to this purpoſe, and as well and exactly followed and proſecuted, may reaſonably incline us to believe. This circumſtance of the time deſigned for the Execution of this Plot is alſo viſible in *Catesby*'s *Reaſonings* (ſee the *Hiſt. pag.* 4.5.) which he might well learn from the ſame Tutors from whom he learnt the project of the Plot it ſelf; for if to take off King *James* alone, unleſs alſo the Prince, the Duke, and moreover the Peers and whole Parliament, would not ſerve their turn, much leſs would it have ſerved, to have taken off Queen *Elizabeth* (now ready to die of her ſelf) though with her Parliament, while the King, together with the addition of another Nation to this, was ready to ſucceed her.

11. And thus we ſee the buſineſs is very plain as to the time ſo long before reſolved on in all their Councels both at *Rome* and *Spain*. It now remains to conſider *how the attempt in point of Time did anſwer this reſolution.* The *Queen deceaſed* the 24 of *March.* 1602. the next day was *King* James *proclaimed*, who came to *Barwick* 6. *April*, and to *Lond.* 7. *May* following, *Anno* 1603. and was Crowned *July* after. *The Parliament* began 19. *March* following and continued till 7. *July* 1604. Then was prorogued till 7. *Feb.* and then again till 5. *Octob.* 1605. and then at laſt till the fatal day 5. *Novemb.* following, when this unhappy Plot was happily diſcovered: From whence we again run it counter to its Original, thus: 11. *Decemb.* 1604, was *the Mine begun*; † and in *May* preceding, did the Conſpirators actually engage in the deſign under an Oath of Secrecy. * The Lent before *Catesby* imparted the deſign to *Thomas Winter*, † and in *September* before that (which was *Anno* 1603.) to * *Percy*; which was before the Parliament began: and that being the time deſigned, it is a very fair evidence to our purpoſe,

(† *Fawkes* Confeſ.)
(* *Proceedings* R. 4.)
(† *winters* Confeſ.)
(* *Proceedings* R. 2.)

poſe, that find it on foot at that very time, which was by all thoſe Councels ſo long before deſigned: and before this we cannot reaſonably think that it ſhould have been imparted to many even of the moſt truſty of their party, by the firſt contrivers of it, who notwithſtanding might long before have reſolved upon it, and did all the while, ſecretly and as behind the curtain, ſteer and manage the motions of thoſe who were to be imployed in it. But before we follow the trace further, if any one ſhould here make this queſtion *Why they had not prepared their mine againſt the firſt ſitting of the Parliament?* though we might well content our ſelves with this anſwer, that it may be ſufficient in all reaſon to ſatisfie us and them too, that we have this evidence, that the project was then on foot, and that many accidents might unexpectedly intervene, which might though unknown to us, move them for ſome time to defer their preparations, as, even after it was begun, *Thuanus* tells us, that the work was often intermitted and often repeated, and we find that by ſuch an accident as the *Scotch* Lords ſitting at *Percy*'s houſe, it was for ſome time deferred; yet to leave no ſcruple or pretence for it, we can tell them the true reaſon, *viz.* that being a thing ſo horrid and inhumane in it ſelf, and alſo * ſcandalous to their Religion, it was thought fit that firſt more gentle means ſhould be uſed, as a Treaty of Peace by the King of *Spain*, and Petition by the Papiſts at home, whereunto they were incouraged by ſome great hopes they had conceived, but upon very uncertain grounds, of a Toleration. But when the King of *Spain*, being well-pleaſed for his own part with the proceedings of the Treatie, fell off from his former promiſes of aſſiſtance, and their Petition was rejected at home, they preſently conclude that a deſperate diſeaſe muſt have a deſperate remedy, and in order thereunto, *Catesby begins to broach the project*, which againſt this time had been kept ſecret in ſtore, and imparts it to ſome of his moſt truſty confidents; who thereupon might probably think that it was of his contrivance, as others from thence have ſince thought it to have been; and that the rather, becauſe in all their dealings preceding this, even to the firſt intimation of it by

winters Confeſ.

* *V. winters* Confeſ.

V. winters Confeſ.

by *Del Rio*, nothing viſible did appear as to thoſe conſpirators in particular, but only Negotiations with *Spain* and *Flanders* for forrein aſſiſtances, and an invaſion; which wiſer heads upon the conſideration of the former ill ſucceſſes of ſuch attempts could not think of it ſelf ſufficient; and therefore we may more reaſonably believe that they who ſecretly and underhand managed the buſineſs, ſo ordered theſe Negotiations as well for a blind to conceal the main deſign, as for a neceſſary means to ſecond it, when it had once taken effect. But beſides theſe Negotiations abroad, we find other matters at home in agitation, by perſons of the ſame party, to wit the Jeſuites in general. For *Watſon* and *Clark*, two Prieſts who were apprehended *July* 1603. before the King was crowned, for another plot of a lower rate and more ordinary nature, in *their Confeſſions* upon their apprehenſion, affirmed 'that there was ſome treaſon intended by the Jeſuites, as appeared to them, by their proviſions of Money, Arms and 'Ammunition, diſſwading the Catholicks from acceptance 'of the King at his firſt coming, (but withal) *wiſhing them* 'not to ſtir, *but keep themſelves quiet, till they heard from them.* (*Proceed. K.* 3.) Of this, *Caſaubon*, who had peruſed their Confeſſions, writeth thus to *Fronto Duræus* in his Epiſtle dated 7 *Novem. July* 1611. *pag.* 188. 'This is the firſt 'Conſpiracy againſt the King which after his arrival in 'England came to light; but that there were others alſo at 'the ſame time in agitation, both the ſame *Watſon* and 'Clark gave us notice, and thoſe things which from thence 'have enſued, have proved. They ſaid, and often and 'conſtantly affirmed, that when they communicated their 'counſels to the Jeſuites then living in *England*, and deſired 'them that they would be partakers with them of ſo noble an 'enterpriſe, they received this anſwer, that the Jeſuites could 'not joyn with them; foraſmuch * as *they had a buſineſs of their own in hand which ſhould be famous to all ages, and which in due time would take effect.* And theſe confeſſions and affirmations of theſe Prieſts, the truth whereof might be further cleared, were it either neceſſary or not too long to undertake it; bring us to that very point of time deſigned for execution in

* *ut qui ſuam quoq; ipſi paridem telam orſi, memorabilem in ævum texturam pararent, tempore opportuno exitum habituram.*

in all theſe projects contemporary with *Del Rio's* Inſtance, and ſufficiently ſhew us that ſome firſt motions towards the execution of this plot were then on foot, though the more plain and downright preparations, were for ſome ſuch reaſons as aboveſaid for ſome time deferred, and ſometimes, it may be, adjourned for want of fit opportunity. And therefore, ſince *Del Rio's* inſtance is contemporary with theſe projects, and this enterpriſe of the Powder Plot with the time deſigned in them for execution, we may very reaſonably think that he gave an inſtance of that which was then as certainly deſigned as it was now punctually practiſed, ſaving only that little diſtorting of it to the ſubject of his book, which does but make it the more ſuſpicious.

12. And that we may ſee that there is no circumſtance but doth, not only well agree with this conjecture, but ſome way or other help to confirm it, we may alſo take notice of *the Place, where this book of* Del Rio's *was written and firſt Printed, viz. Lovane*, in *Flanders*; where theſe Conſpirators had Father *Baldwin*, a Jeſuite, Leger, and others of their confederates, as Sir *William Stanly* and *Owen*, Reſident; whither they had often recourſe, and from whence they expected their moſt preſent help after the blow ſhould be given. So that it was not hard for them to meet with ſome intimation among their frequent conſultations about theſe matters there, in *Flanders*, of ſome ſuch notable and moſt effectual project, not only by means of this book there publiſhed, but even from the Author himſelf, or the Approbators of it their correſpondents. And of *Gatesby* in particular, upon whom this contrivance is father'd, that he held correſpondence there, is plain enough; ſo likewiſe of *Garnet*, who was afterward had in that eſteem at *Lovane*, that it was once publickly prayed there, -- *Sanctæ Henrice, Ora pro nobis* (*Foul. l.* 10. *c.* 10. *ſub fin.*)

13. Now if from the conſideration of the book, we proceed further to *the conſideration of the Author*, we ſhall find all circumſtances ſtill concur to the confirmation of the Conjecture. 1. One of the Society of the Jeſuites, into which he was admitted, *Ann.* 1580. and who about the time of publiſhing

liſhing this book became the Popes ſworn Servant, *quatuor jam votis ſolemnibus obſtrictus*, being obliged not only by thoſe three vows, Common to all the Religious Orders, but moreover by that fourth peculiar to that Society, of ſpecial obedience to the Pope. 2. Of that height of zeal againſt Hereticks, that at the very mention or leaſt remembrance of them in common diſcourſe, he would change colour and his ſtomach riſe againſt them. 3. Before he entred into the Society, he had been one of the chief Senate of *Brabant*, then Chanceller of *Brabant*, and had the management of the Kings Exchequer. (*Phil. Alegambe* in *Biblioth.*) 4. And being firſt well qualified by theſe employments, and then ſufficiently inſtructed in the Jeſuites Society, he at length became a Politician, and had his projects and deviſes for an Innovation to be made both in Church and State throughout the whole *Romane* Empire, which the Jeſuites earneſtly endeavoured to put in practiſe; the ſumm whereof, as they are related from his own mouth by *William Freake* of the Practice of the Jeſuites, 'pag. 58. were, 'to raiſe ſuch diviſions and differences among 'the Princes of the Empire, by working upon their contra- 'riety of opinions in matters of Religion, &c. that they may 'waſt and weaken themſelves one againſt another, that their 'ſtrength and power may be broken, or at leaſt weakened, 'and become utterly unable to withſtand a common foe, 'when he ſhall come upon them. Where he ſets down more particularly how differences may be raiſed between ſuch and ſuch particular Princes. Laſtly, his Opinion and Judgment of this Gunpowder Plot, may in ſome ſort be underſtood by his eſteem of *Garnet*, whom he * compared with S. *Dionyſius Areopagita*. He died at *Lovane* 19. *Octob.* 1608. not full three years after the diſcovery of this Plot.

* *Delr' vind. Areop.* cap. 27. pag. 104.

14. If from the Author of this Inſtance we come to the *Actors of this Plot, and the Authorizers and Abettors of it*, we ſhall find all circumſtances ſtill to agree very well. 1. They were all either *of the ſame Society with this Author*, * *Jeſuites or their Jeſuited Diſciples*; ſuch to whom the Jeſuites were Confeſſors, and had the Conduct of their Conſciences; ſuch who were by them reſolved in point of Conſcience in all things

* v. *Tortur. Torti*, p. 280. *Jeſuitas Conſultores & Conſentientes, & R. Abbot. Antitogiæ*, cap. 9. 10, 11.

things concerning this Plot; received the Sacrament upon their Oath of Secreſie from them; and by them were abſolved after the Plot defeated. Nor do we find any in Holy Orders, (except the Pope himſelf) to have had any hand in it or particular knowledge of it, but ſuch as were of this Society of the Jeſuites. For *the Secular Prieſts*, though two of them, in purſuance of the Popes Bulls, immediately upon the coming in of the King, were ingaged in a Conſpiracy of their own (if not trapan'd by the Jeſuites, *V. Stowe & Fuller, Anno* 1603. *Sect.* 14.) againſt him, but of a lower and more ordinary nature; and by the Actions of the Jeſuites perceived ſomething in general, that the Jeſuites had then ſome notable Plot in agitation: yet we may reaſonably believe, that they were utterly unacquainted with the Kind and Particulars of this ſo high and refined a project, above the pitch of their imaginations to conceive; not onely from what hath been already ſaid out of their Confeſſions, but alſo by reaſon of the differences and diſſentions, which were then and have ſince continued between the Jeſuites and them. (*V. Declarat. Motuum. Edit.* 1601. & *Watſons Quodlibets, Edit.* 1602.)

15. 2. Nor were they two or three *Jeſuites* only in a corner, and they of the lower rank, or of mean or ordinary authority, but ſuch as were *of greateſt reputation place and Authority* among them, who were concerned in this buſineſs: as, beſides *Oſw. Teſmond* alias *Greenwel*, who with *Robert Winter* was by *Garnet, Catesby* and *Treſham, Anno* 1601. ſent into *Spain*, with Letters commendatory to *F. Creſwel*, to Negotiate the then intended Spaniſh Expedition; beſides *Gerrard*, and *Hammond* and *Hall*; beſides * F. *Weſton* who, heretofore *Anno* 1595. at *Wisbich caſtle*, by his contention for a Superiority over the other Prieſts as well as Jeſuites, began the differences which have ſince continued between them; and in his book *de Triplici hominis Officio*, Printed *Anno* 1602. foretold of many calamities, ſtorms and dangers that were like to enſue upon the Queens death, (as did alſo the Author of *The Ward-word* Printed at *Lovane* 1599.

* *V. Wilſon* Hiſt. of King *James.*

* Anſwer to the Supplication, *chap* 4. *Edit. Lond.* 1604.

ſaid to be *Parſons*) as was obſerved and noted * in Print before this Plot was detected; beſides all theſe and many more no doubt, not yet diſcovered, the Superiour of the whole Order of Engliſh Jeſuites, even *their Provincial* himſelf here in *England*, F. *Hen. Garnet*, who had been eighteen years here in *England*, and a promoter of former conſpiracies, and held *correſpondence* with divers other of prime note and authority in forrein parts: as, 'with F. Creſwel *in* Spain, 'who being many years *Vice-præfectus Anglicanæ Miſſionis*, *Sub provincial* and *Leger* there, did great matters, and by the Authority which he had with the two *Philips* II & III. Kings of *Spain*, obtain'd many things of them for the good of the Catholick cauſe in *England*, as we read in *Alegambe*, and about a month or ſix weeks * before this Plot ſhould have been effected, went from *Villadolit* to *Rome*, to be created a Cardinal, ſaith L. *Owen*, but more probably upon ſome other negotiation concerning this great buſineſs then in hand: (L. *O.* of the *Engl. Col.* in forrein parts, *pag.* 74. *Lond.* 1626. *quar.*) alſo *with* F. Baldwin *in the Low-countries*, of like place and Authority there ever ſince the year 1590. at which time *Del Rio* read Divinity at *Doway*, as he did afterward at other places in thoſe parts, as *Leige* and *Lovane*, who being ſo famous as he was in thoſe parts, and ſo great a zealot againſt hereticks, it is not to be doubted that he had frequent converſe with F. *Baldwin* and divers others of the Engliſh Fugitives of the better quality: Laſtly, *at* Rome *with the Engliſh Aſſiſtant there* F. Parſons, whom we may conclude to have had particular knowledge of this deſign, not only from what he wrote concerning the Journey or Pilgrimage to S. *Winefreds-well*, & the myſtical prayer which he ordered his Students to uſe, to ſay nothing of the many projects which his working brain continually deviſed, and his furious zeal as earneſtly urged and proſecuted, or of his Letter wherein he wrote (*Anno* 1600) that he had then been ten years dealing in ſuch matters; but we are moreover given to underſtand ſo much from ſome of his own Religion, though 'not of his Order, and that he was highly acceſſory to it, 'both before and after the diſcovery, as might be proved by great

* About the time that *Banham* was ſent by *Garnet* to the Pope.

great and manifeſt inſtances. (The Jeſuites Reaſons unreaſonable, *Doubt* 1.) But for his Correſpondence at *Rome*, we need do no more but firſt remember who *Garnet* was, *viz.* Provincial of the Engliſh Jeſuites, and then reflect upon the continual weekly or *octiduan* Intelligences, which the Provincials from all parts conſtantly tranſmit, concerning all matters of moment, to their ſeveral reſpective Aſſiſtants at *Rome*, who immediately impart the ſame to the F. General of the whole Society, always Reſident there, and he or they, as the matter requires or deſerves, to the Pope: (of which the Diſcourſe of the Jeſuites Politicks, written under *Paul* v. Printed in the Myſt. of Jeſuit. *part* 2. and other Writers give us an account) and then we cannot doubt of his correſpondence there, not only with the Engliſh Aſſiſtant *Parſons*, but alſo, at leaſt by means of the Aſſiſtant, *with the F. General* Claudius Aquaviva, and *with the Pope* himſelf, and that in this very particular, being a matter of ſo great moment; which doth more particularly appear by the Bulls prepared to be ſent over hither, as ſoon as the plot had taken effect, and other inſtances not neceſſary here to be inſiſted on. So that if we conſider the Perſons and their Correſpondences and Intelligences, it will not be hard to conceive how eaſily this Plot, whereſoever or by whomſoever invented, might be communicated, if by *Del Rio*, to our Incendians here; if by any of them, to him; if at *Rome*, both to him and to them, or, for the more ſecret conveyance of the notice of it, from thence, by him, to them. Which is not unlikely that it was, and that it was the contrivance of F. *Parſons*, who at that time *Anno* 1600, had been ten years dealing in ſuch matters, and ſtudying and promoting projects againſt his Country, as we may perceive by his aforeſaid letter then written.

16. Laſtly, if from the Actors we come to conſider *their Actions and Management* of the whole buſineſs, we ſhall find a wonderful agreement, from firſt to laſt, in all the Circumſtances, not one croſſing or thwarting our conjecture, not one failing, not one that doth not afford ſome matter or ground to confirm it. For 1. If we conſider the whole

Section of Del Rio, and *with* it compare *the Actions and carriage of the Conſpirators*, in all, there is ſo punctual an agreement, that without further proof, it ſeems to own and bewray its parent, being as like him, as if (according to our proverb) it was ſpat out of his mouth; at leaſt to diſcover that it was nearly related to him. Thus with his Inſtance agree the undertakings of the Conſpirators; with his Doctrine of not revealing things diſcovered in Confeſſion, though the moſt hainous Treaſons and moſt pernitious to the State, the Practice of their Confeſſors; with his means for concealing the ſame by Equivocation, and Confirmation thereof by Oath or moſt ſolemn proteſtations, their punctual, ſtrict and reſolute uſe and obſervance thereof. All which is ſo plain and manifeſt from what is before recited out of that Section, and obſerved in it, and from the following Hiſtory, and the Proceedings againſt the Traytors, that nothing more need be alledged to prove it, as nothing can be ſaid with any colour of probability to diſprove it.

17. And therefore 2. We may alſo, as to their Actions, take notice of the great *Care* and *Caution* and *Secrecy*, together with their Jugling indirect Practiſes, wherewith they managed their buſineſs; and that in theſe two reſpects: 2. in general *for the better ſecuring of their deſign and undertakings from diſcovery*. And this appears in *divers Inſtances*, as 1. In *Th. Winters Dealing*, firſt with Sir *William Stanly*, to whom, though a good friend to the Catholick Cauſe, he poſitively affirmed that there was no reſolution to ſet any project a foot in *England*; as he tells us in his Confeſſion: then with *Fawkes*, to whom though ſent for by him to act in this tragedy, he imparted only a reſolution of a practiſe in general againſt his Majeſty for relief of the Catholick Cauſe, as appears by both their Confeſſions. 2. In that the buſineſs was very ſparingly *communicated*, at firſt *but to few*, and afterwards to more as the intended time of Execution drew on, and *under an Oath of Secrecy*, in the moſt ſolemn manner confirmed, by receiving the Sacrament upon it. And *Garnet* himſelf *often religiouſly proteſted to them both by word and writing that he would never betray them*, in his Letter dated on Palm-

Palm-Sunday (*Torturæ Torti, pag.* 286.) which implyes that he was often thereunto urged by them. 3. In that *reaſon which* Catesby *alledged*, when he deſired leave to acquaint ſome others with the buſineſs: for *many*, ſaid he, *may be content that I ſhould know, who would not therefore that all the company ſhould be acquainted with their names*, as it is in *Winters* Confeſſion; and it is not unlikely that he learnt this reaſon by experience at the ſame time and from the ſame perſon, as he did the contrivance it ſelf; which might poſſibly, for the more ſecrecy, be thus conveyed to him, through divers intermediate hands, from the firſt Author or Authors of it.

18. And 2. more eſpecially, *for ſecuring the reputation of the Society*, in caſe the Plot ſhould be detected: and this appears in the Actions and indirect Practiſes both of the Jeſuites, and of the other Conſpirators. Hence it was that *Garnet the Provincial*, being of greateſt Authority, and therefore likely to bring moſt Diſcredit and greateſt Odium upon the Society, if ſuch a man as he ſhould be diſcovered to have any hand in ſo foul and infamous a matter, *at firſt* would not be known even to *Catesby* himſelf, the principal viſible actor in the Plot, or to any other, but of his own Order, that he was made privy to it. And *after the Diſcovery* of the Plot, how ſollicitous was he, and concern'd for the whole Society! *At at, actum eſt de Societate*; which he feared would ſuffer for it, as being conſcious they well deſerved. Then upon his *Examination and Tryal*, how ready and dexterous was he with his Equivocations, and deſperately impious in ſtiff Denyals, upon his Soul, and with deteſtable Execrations, of thoſe very things which were after ſo manifeſtly proved againſt him, that he could not longer deny them! And for *the other Conſpirators*: 1. They *taxed none in Holy Orders*, which many looked upon, ſays *Thuanus*, as purpoſely avoided, becauſe they were *bound by Oath not to do it*. And certainly, *Garnet*, when he ſo often engaged not to betray them, would not be leſs careful for the Society, to oblige them not to diſcover any of it. 2. Nor did they only carefully abſtain from accuſing, but moſt deſperately *indeavoured*

by

by all means, even the worſt of means, by lyes and falſe proteſtations *to excuſe them.* Such were Digbys *Proteſtations*, whereupon the Earl of *Salisbury* obſerved, *what faith was to be given to theſe mens proteſtations, who ſought to excuſe all Jeſuits how foul ſoever, out of an opinion that it is meritorious ſo to do, at ſuch time as they had no hope of themſelves, and to clear them of thoſe practiſes which they themſelves have now confeſſed* ex proprio ore. Such was alſo that lamentable *attempt of Treſham* upon his death-bed to excuſe *Garnet*, wherein he was diſproved, by the Confeſſions both of Mrs *Vaux*, *Garnets* intimate, and of *Garnet* himſelf. To theſe may be added, Their *Deſign to have father'd* the enterpriſe *upon the Puritans*; and ſince, Their impudent groundleſs *Imputation* of the Original *of it to* Cecil: which makes the relation of that deſign more credible; and that again makes this imputation more apparently void of Credit.

19. Now of theſe Obſervations of their Secrecy and Practiſe we may reaſonably make *this Uſe:* 1. To manifeſt *the validity and Sufficiency of theſe and ſuch like Arguments* and Proofs, from Circumſtances and by way of Inducement, in this caſe. For where ſuch Works of Darkneſs, as to the main ſubſtance of them are plainly and fully proved, and as plainly and evidently proved to have been managed with ſo much Secrecy and Practiſe, we cannot reaſonably expect greater Proof and Evidence of any Circumſtance belonging to them, than ſo plain a concurrence and agreement of all other Circumſtances with it. 2. To manifeſt *the Inſufficiency of what ever ſhould be urged from their Confeſſions againſt us.* For ſince they did not only ſtifly deny plain truths, but alſo muſt impudently affirm manifeſt falſhoods, eſpecially where it was thought neceſſary for excuſing any of the Society, what ever ſhall be alledged from their ſpeeches for that purpoſe, may reaſonably be ſuſpected to have been fained and deviſed for that end, and deſerves no credit at all. 3. *To Anſwer the Objection* that might be made, *and Correct the Miſtake* that hath been committed, *concerning the firſt Author and Original* of the Plot, as if it was at firſt of *Catesby's* Contrivance,

trivance, and not till their Deſpair of Aſſiſtance from *Spain*, upon their laſt Negotiation there.

20. To which it might be *Anſwered, from their Practiſe* to excuſe their Complices eſpecially the Jeſuits, that they attributed the Contrivance to *Catesby*, becauſe he being dead could accuſe no other, and aſſigned That Time, as being a good probable Occaſion of it. But 2. It may be Anſwered, perhaps more ſatisfactorily and fully, *From their Secrecy*, and from *Catesby*'s own words, that ſome might be willing to be known to him, who would not be known to the reſt to be privy; and the rather becauſe this was an old policy formerly practiſed in order to the Spaniſh Invaſion, which was after attempted in 88. when many were ſo cunningly engaged that they knew not of, and ſo were not able to accuſe any, but the perſon that ingaged them, (as Sir *Francis Bacon* in his Obſervations upon the Libel publiſhed 1592. and in his Collection of the Felicities of Queen *Elizabeth*, ſhews from a Letter of one of their Principal Heads, which was intercepted;) and not only practiſed before, but alſo repeated immediatly after this Plot, when Five had ſeverally undertaken the Earl of *Salisbury*'s death, and vowed the performance of it; and yet it was ſo ordered that none of thoſe Five knew who the other Four were, for the better preventing the diſcovery of the reſt, if any one by attempting and not performing ſhould be apprehended; from hence it may well be anſwered: That it is very probable, that *Winter* and *Fawkes*, from whoſe Confeſſions this miſtake hath ariſen, and the Objection may be made, and moſt of the other Conſpirators, did indeed know of no other Author of the Contrivance, but *Catesby*. And yet it may very well be, that He received it from others the firſt Contrivers of it, either immediately or mediately, either the full Project expreſly, with the Reaſons mentioned by *Thuanus*, under ſome Oath of Secrecy or Engagement not to diſcover from whom he received it, or at leaſt ſome ſuch Hints and Intimations of it, as were ſufficient to ſet on work a mind ſo active and well diſpoſed to improve the ſame to the utmoſt; and without any ſuch engagement, he might be apt enough

to

to take the Invention upon himſelf; not only out of Devotion to the Society, whoſe reputation he might thereby the better ſecure in caſe it ſhould miſcarry; but even out of an Ambition to be reputed the Author of ſo Glorious an Enterpriſe. And that He ſhould be intruſted with ſo Great a Secret, and the Chief viſible Management of it, rather than any of the reſt, was very likely, 1. Becauſe he and his Family had been addicted and devoted to the Jeſuits from their very firſt coming into *England*; and were harbourers of *Campian*, who with his Comrade *Parſons* (the two firſt and principal who were deſigned and employed for that Service) came into *England Anno* 1580. where he was apprehended 22. *July* in the year next enſuing; as we are informed by *Sanders* 3. *de Schiſmate Anglicano*. From which time it is not unlikely that he held correſpondence with F. *Parſons*, who ſoon after returned to *Rome*, and continued there Rector of the Engliſh Colledge, till ſome years after the diſcovery of this plot, 'he was ſhame-'fully turned out of *Rome* by Mounſieur *Bethunes* the *French* 'Embaſſadour, and Order from the King of *France*, being 'diſcovered to plot a new treaſon againſt his Majeſty, to in-'troduce the Duke of *Parma*; as we are told by a Romaniſt. But 2. this was not all why *Catesby* was preferred before the reſt in this ſervice: for in this reſpect *Treſham* might perhaps have claimed that honor, as well as he, as we may ſee in *Sanders*; but *Catesby* had another more ſpecial qualification, as being more Cautious and Cunning, as we may obſerve in *Thuanus*.

21. But becauſe ſo plauſible a *Pretenſe, for the Occaſion* of theſe deſperate reſolutions at that time, as the King of *Spain*'s then deſerting of the Conſpirators upon his Treaty of Peace with *England*, may ſeem to have ſome weight in it; though it muſt be noted, that this ſeemes rather to have been the Conjecture of the Hiſtorians and others, than that any ſuch thing was expreſly alledged by the Conſpirators, for ought appears in the Printed Confeſſions of *Fawkes* and *Winter*; yet that we may leave no ſcruple, and make it further appear that we have not only the concurrence of all Circumſtances to confirm our belief of the truth of what hath been

ſaid,

ſaid, but have alſo ſufficient matter and ground for Anſwer to all Objections, we ſhall return ſuch *Anſwer*, though touch'd before, as may both ſufficiently ſolve this doubt, and be of ſome uſe to other purpoſe. And therefore it muſt be remembred, 1. That all the neighbouring Popiſh Princes, eſpecially *France*, *Spain*, and the Archdukes of *Auſtria*, toward the latter end of the Queens Reign, were not a little concerned upon *Fear of what Conſequence the Union of the three Kingdoms*, (*viz.* of *Scotland* with *England* and *Ireland*) *might prove in time*; as is not only apparent in it ſelf, but intimated to us by the Papiſts themſelves in their Supplication to King *James* before the diſcovery of this plot; and thereupon bent all their Conſultations, and uſed all Means to prevent or hinder it, as well after the Kings coming in, as before, and even by their Embaſſadours here, did not only tamper with ſome of the Prime Miniſters of State to corrupt them, but alſo practiſed to raiſe ſtirs and Rebellions: Of the *French*, *Cambden* tells us that the *French* Embaſſadour ſtudied to move Commotions, *ne duo diviſa Britanniæ Regna*, *Angliæ & Scotiæ*, *in unum coaleſcerent*; and others inform us of his tampering with ſome of the Prime Stateſmen here. And of *Count Arembergh*, Embaſſadour Extraordinary for the Archdukes, we find him reported to have been an agent in the Treaſon of *Watſon* and *Clark*, and not only ſo, but that He and they were the Contrivers of it, and that He drew into it the Lord *Cobham*, and, by his means, his brother *Brook*, *Parham*, the Lord *Grey* of *Wilſon*, and at length *Raleigh* alſo was brought in.

22. And 2. we muſt take notice that there was certainty *a deeper myſtery in the Counſels of* Spain, *than meerly an Invaſion intended*. For long before this, The King of *Spain* (as Sir *Fr. Bacon* in his Report of the 'Treaſon of *Loper*, well 'obſerves) having found by the Enterpriſe of 88 the Di- 1588.
'ficulty of an *Invaſion* of *England*, layed aſide the Proſecution 'of his Attempts againſt this Realm by Open Forces, and by 'all means projected to trouble the waters here by Practiſe, 'firſt to move ſome Innovation in *Scotland*, then, he ſollici-'ted a Subject within this Realm, (being a Perſon of

'great Nobility) to riſe in Arms, and Levy war againſt her
'Majeſty. [Perhaps he means the Earl of *Darby*, whom *Richard Heſket* endeavoured to perſwade to aſſume the Title of
1593. King, deriving his Right from his great Grandmother *Mary* daughter of *Hen.* VII. and made him large promiſes of Aids and Money from the Spaniard, threatning him with ſudden deſtruction if he did not do it, and conceal the buſi-
1594. 'neſs. *Cambd. Anno* 1593.] Laſtly, either of himſelf, or his
'Counſellers and Miniſters uſing his name, deſcended to a
'courſe Againſt all Honour, all Society and Humanity; Odi-
'ous to God and Man; Deteſted by the Heathens them-
'ſelves; to take away the life of her Majeſty, by Violence or
'Poiſon. A matter which might be proved to be, not only
'againſt all Chriſtianity, and Religion, but againſt Nature,
'The Law of Nations, The Honour of Arms, The Civil
'Law, The Rules of Morality and Policy; Finally, the moſt
'Condemned, Barbarous and Ferine Act that can be imagi-
ned, &c. What then would he have ſaid, and what muſt we think of this ſo far tranſcendent Inhumane and Anti-chriſtian Powder Plot! But he goes on: 'Certain it is, that
'even about this preſent time, there have been ſuborned, and
'ſent into this Realm, divers perſons, ſome Engliſh, ſome
'Iriſh, corrupted by Money, and Promiſes; and Reſolved
'and Conjured by Prieſts in Confeſſion, to have executed
'that moſt wretched and horrible Fact. Of which number
'certain have been taken; and ſome have ſuffered, [as Patrick Cullen, *an Iriſh Fencer*; *and afterward* Ri. Williams *and* Edmond York, *for whoſe encouragement and reward an Aſſignation of forty thouſand Crowns, under the hand of* Stephano Ibarra, *the Kings Secretary at* Bruxels *was depoſited with* Holt *a Jeſuit, who kiſſing the Conſecrated Hoſt, ſwore that the money ſhould be paid as ſoon as the murther was committed, and engaged them two by Oath upon the Holy Sacrament to perform it.* Camd. Anno 1594, 1595.] And ſome
'are ſpared, becauſe they have with great ſorrow confeſſed
'theſe attempts, and detected their ſuborners; [*there were alſo deſigned at the ſame time for this purpoſe, as the others confeſſed*, one Tipping, Edmund Garret *an Enſign, with a* Wallon,

Foulis l.7.c.7.

Wallon, *and a* Burgundian, *and one* Young, *and perhaps 'ſome of them might be taken and ſpared.*] But ſays Sir *Fran-'cis*, Among the number of theſe execrable undertakers, 'there was none ſo much built and relyed upon, by the 'Great Ones of the other ſide, as was the Phyſician *Lopez*; And then he proceeds in the particular relation, how one *Manuel Andrada*, who had revolted from his own King of *Portugal Don Antonio* to the King of *Spain*, having before won Doctor *Lopez* ſworn Phyſician of her Majeſties Houſe-hold to the King of *Spains* ſervice, coming freſhly out of *Spain*, treated with *Lopez* touching the empoyſoning of the Queen, which he undertook for fifty thouſand Crowns, but ſtaying the execution, till by Letters from *Spain* he ſhould have Aſſurance of the payment of the Money, thoſe Letters, the one from the *Count de Fuentes* and the other from the Secretary *Juara*, which were delivered to the meſſenger by the *Counts*'s own hand, being happily intercepted, the Practiſe was diſcovered, and *the Great Service, whereof ſhould ariſe a Univerſal Benefit to the whole world*, as the Letters expreſſed it, very opportunely diſappointed, and *Lopez* with *Em. Louys* and *Ferrera de Gama*, whereof the one managed the buſineſs abroad, and the other reſided here to give correſpondence, were apprehended and arraigned; who upon theſe Letters and their own confeſſion being found guilty, were condemned, and about three months after executed at *Tiburne*, as *Camden* tells us. The like practiſe we find again ſome few years after repeated in *Spain*, whence by *Walpole* the Jeſuit, ſome time Rector or at leaſt of great authority at *Villadolit* where, as I take it, the Spaniſh Court was at that time kept, *Edw. Squire* was ſent over to poyſon the Queen, under pretenſe of redeeming Spaniſh Captives, being by that Jeſuit encouraged upon the ſcore of merit, with promiſes of Eternal Salvation, and his bleſſing. *Camb. Ann.* 1598. out the ſame Providence ſtill preſerved her.

23. And to theſe pitiful and baſe unworthy Arts, did the Grave Spaniſh Counſels and high vaunts at laſt deſcend; and this was a fair Introduction to the Contrivance of this Maſter-piece and laſt refuge of the Powder-plot, which,

from what hath been ſaid before, we have great reaſon to believe did ſhortly after ſucceed. Now if theſe things be conſidered, and therewith the State and Condition of *England* and *Spain* at that time, which we may find well compared to our hand by Sir *Francis Bacon* in his conſiderations touching a war with *Spain*, it muſt needs be a very weak and childiſh thing for any man to imagine that *Spain* ſhould have been ſo inconſiderate as to have had any thought of Invading *England* at that time, notwithſtanding any combination of whatſoever party ready to receive him here, of Papiſts and diſcontented perſons, (whereof he had made greater preparations againſt the Northern Rebellion and 88.) did he not build upon ſome ſuch myſtery of the Powder Plot. And indeed, if we well examine the Preparations then made or deſigned both abroad and at home, we ſhall find them rather proportionable to ſecond ſome ſuch feat as this, when the King and the Nobility and a great part of the Gentry were deſtroyed, and the whole Kingdom under ſo great a conſternation and confuſion as muſt there upon unavoidably have enſued, than otherwiſe to have atchieved any conqueſt of this Nation. And if this was ſo that all did depend upon ſome ſuch ſecret machination, it was very agreeable to the Counſels and Practiſes of the *Spaniards*, (who, as Sir *Fr. Bacon* obſerves, are great Waiters upon Time, and ground their Plots deep)

1. By theſe means, to * hold up the minds of the Papiſts, and keep them in continual readineſs till the Queens death, at which time all the Popiſh Conſultations, for ſundry years before, aimed, as hath been ſufficiently manifeſted; and then after her death to enter into and go on with a Treaty of Peace (as they did in 88. till the noiſe of the *Cannon* gave notice of the Invaſion, and as *Don Jo.* of *Auſtria* had before done) and by that means provide for themſelves, in caſe the other project failed; and in the mean time underhand to inſinuate that contrivance, to them who were apt enough of themſelves to put it in execution; but yet in appearance ſo to deſert them, as if it ſhould be diſcovered, they might not appear to have been in the leaſt privy to it. In the month of *Sept.* † came the Spaniſh Embaſſador, and in the ſame

* As they had before done in order to the Invaſion of 88 by rumours, and Printed Books.

† *Ibn. l.* 129.

moneth

moneth was * *Percy* by *Catesby* acquainted with the Plot. It was rumour'd, as our historians tell us, that the King of *Spain* was a fomenter of the Plot; but for his Ministers, they could not be unacquainted with our Author *Del Rio*, a famous Jesuite who had once been in * Honourable Civil employments under that King, a member of the Supreme Senate of *Brabant*, Judge of the Marshals Court, Advocate of the Kings Exchequer, Chancellor of *Brabant*, and Counsellor of State, and afterwards entred into the Society at *Pinira* in *Spain*, and if they were otherwise ignorant of it, might from him have learn't the contrivance, who himself might possibly have seen a little experiment or Emblem of it in *Stiria* whither he went about the year 1600. when the Protestant Ministers were cast out by the Decree of the Archduke through the instigation of the Jesuites, and among other Outrages, a Church, wherein were the Monuments of a Noble Protestant Familie the *Hofmans*, and the dead carkases and bones blown up, not casually, but with Gun-powder, for that purpose put under it; As *Thuanus* reports, *Anno* 1600. *l.* 124.

* Proceed. R. 2.

* *In Supremum Brabantiæ Senatum cooptatus est. Sed probitate & doctrina suffragantibus altius evectus, Palatinis & militibus jus dicere, mox etiam Brabantiæ pro Cancellario esse, Regiumque Fiscum curare jussus est. Alegamb. Lipsius Anno* 1578 *inscribes* an Epistle to him at *Lovain*, *Mart. Ant. Delrio Consiliario Regio.*

24. But to conclude this Subject; If we look into the Beginning, Progress and Succession of all those Tragical Attempts, which upon the score, or at least under the Pretense of Restoring the Catholick Religion in *England*, have been made or promoted, during the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth* of Blessed Memory, against Her and Her Kingdoms, we shall find in all from first to last such a Combination of Counsels and Mutual Assistances between the Bishops of *Rome* and the King of *Spain* with his *Netherlands*, as will very much confirm what hath been said, and may reasonably perswade us to believe that the same was also continued in this. It would be too long to make a particular relation of all; but yet it may not be amiss, briefly to take notice of the principal of them; not so much to confirm what hath been said, which needs it not, as to observe *the true Principles*, from which all have proceeded, and what use and benefit we may make of the whole discourse: and in this respect it matters not much who were contrivers of that Powder Plot, since

ſince it is out of queſtion that it proceeded from the ſame principles with the reſt.

1558. 25. *Paulus* IV. who was Pope when Queen *Elizabeth* began her Reign, not living out a year after, did not at all moleſt her. Nor did his Succeſſor *Pius* IV. whether being diverted by other buſineſs of nearer concern at home, in the Intrigues of the Councel of *Trent*, or by the means of *Ferdinand* the Emperor then in hopes to marry his ſon to her;

1566. but *Pius* V. who ſucceeded him, was no ſooner ſettled in that See, but he began to practiſe to unſettle her from her Throne; and to that end (as we are informed by *Catena* who was Secretary to his Nephew, Cardinal *Alexandrino*, and wrote his life) he imployed one *Robert Bidolph*, a Gentleman of *Florence*, reſiding here under pretenſe of Merchandiſe, to engage a party againſt the Queen; which he ſo effectually did, not only among the Papiſts, but Proteſtants alſo, that *the Duke of Norfolk* was *drawn into the Conſpiracy*, by promiſe of marriage with the Queen of *Scots*; and in the mean time he perſwaded the *Spaniard* to aſſiſt the Conſpirators; and at laſt to promote the buſineſs, ſent over Doctor *Nic. Morton* to certain of the principal Engliſh Papiſts, to denounce the Queen an Heretick, and therefore faln from all Power and Dominion, and by them to be accounted as a Heathen and a Publican, and they diſobliged from her Laws and commands. Hereupon, (*Chapinus Vitellius* being firſt come over, under pretenſe of compoſing differences about Trade, to obſerve the ſucceſs of the enſuing Rebellion, and to head the *Spaniards* forces which were to be ſent out of the Low-Countries) the Earls of *Northumberland* and *Weſtmerland* with 600. Horſe and 4000. foot, *riſe in actual Rebellion*, and Declare for the Reſtitution of the Roman Religion; but the reſt of the Catholicks, ſays *Sanders*, becauſe Sentence of Excommunication by the Pope was not publickly Denounced againſt the Queen, nor did they ſeem abſolved from her Obedience, not joyning with them, they were eaſily by the Queens forces chaſed into *Scotland*; where afterward *Northumberland* was taken, and brought back into *England*, and at *York*, by a Glorious

Hier. Catena in vita Pii V.

1569. *Thuanus l.* 48. *Sanders* 7. *de viſib. Monarch.*

3. *De Schiſmate Angl.*

'ous Martyrdom, ſays he, happily ended his days. And in this Rebellion, for the King of *Spain*, beſides *Vitellius* and *La Mot* the Governour of *Dunkirk*, who came over in a common Sailers habit to ſound our Havens, the Duke of *Alva* his Lieutenant in the *Low-Countries*, and *Don Guerres d'Eſpees* his *Liege* Ambaſſadour here, were diſcovered to be the Chief Inſtruments and Practiſers. This Beginning was immediately ſeconded by *Leonard Dacres*, but with like ſucceſs. *Bacon* Obſerv. *Camd. Anno* 1569.

26. But the Duke of *Norfolk*, and *Bidolph*, and others being a little before the Inſurrection ſecured upon ſome ſuſpitions, and ſo prevented from appearing in the Rebellion, the bottom of the buſineſs was ſtill undiſcovered, they not long after releaſed, and the Conſpiracy ſtill carried on. And the Pope, to prevent that failure for the future, which had been committed the year before, and to give more ſatisfaction and encouragement to all good Catholicks to joyn in Rebellion againſt the Queen, in the entrance of the next year, ſends out his Sentence of *Anathema* againſt her. Wherein he firſt ſets out his own Title and Authority, in theſe words: *He that reigneth on High, to whom is given all Power in Heaven and Earth, hath committed the One, Holy, Catholick and Apoſtolick Church, out of which there is no Salvation, to One Alone on Earth*, to wit, *to the Prince of the Apoſtles*, Peter, *and to* Peters *Succeſſor, the Biſhop of* Rome, *to be governed in Plenitude of Power, &c.* Next he acquaints us with his own great care and endeavours for the diſcharge of this great truſt; then draws up a particular charge of ſeveral crimes and miſdemeanors againſt *Elizabeth* pretended Queen of *England*, whom he calls the Servant or Slave of wickedneſs, *Flagitiorum Serva*. *And therefore*, ſaith he, *Supported with his Authority, who was pleaſed to place Us, though unable for ſo great a burthen, in this Supreme Throne of Juſtice, out of the Plenitude of Our Apoſtolical Power, We do Declare the aforeſaid* Elizabeth (being) *a Heretick and Favourer of Hereticks, and her Adherents in the matters aforeſaid, to have incurred the Sentence of* Anathema, *and to be cut off from the unity of Chriſt's Body; and Her to be Deprived* *Sanders* 3. *De Schiſ. Angl. pag.* 368.

of

of her pretended Right to the Kingdom aforeſaid, and of All Dominion, Dignity and Priviledge whatſoever; and alſo the Nobles, Subjects and People of the ſaid Kingdoms and All others who have in any ſort Sworn unto her, to be for ever Abſolved from the ſame Oath, and from All manner of Duty of Dominion, Fidelity, and Obedience; As we do by Authority of theſe preſents Abſolve Them, and Deprive the ſame Elizabeth *of her pretended Right to the Kingdom, and of all other things aboveſaid. And we Command and Interdict All and Every the Noblemen, Subjects, People and others aforeſaid, that they Preſume not to Obey Her, or her Monitions, Mandates and Laws. Thoſe who ſhall do otherwiſe we Innodate in the like Sentence of* Anathema. This was ſent over, and toward the
1570. end of *May* affixed upon the Biſhop of *London*'s Palace Gates; and Copies of it to be diſperſed through out *England*,
Catena. ſent to *Fidolph*; who, having by the Popes Order diſtributed 150000. Crowns (*Aurea*) among the Confederates, and all things here being again made ready againſt the Queen, is ſent to acquaint the Pope with their preparations; which he approving preſently ſends him to the King of
1571. *Spain*; promiſing that, if need be, himſelf will go to their Aſſiſtance, and will pawn All the Goods of the Apoſtolick See, the Chalices, Crucifixes, and Sacred Veſtments. Hereupon the *Spaniard* preſently gives expreſs Command that *Vitellius* with an Army ſhall Invade *England*; and the Pope prepares his money in the Low-Countries. But it pleaſed God that a meſſenger coming over with Letters to the Queen of *Scots*, the Spaniſh Ambaſſadour, *Norfolk* and others, being intercepted, the whole buſineſs is diſcovered, *Norfolk* and others committed, and all their Preparations and Hopes diſappointed. *Which*, ſays *Catena*, *the Pope took ſadly, and the* Spaniard *condoled, who ſaid before Cardinal* Alexandrino *the Popes Nephew*, (not long before ſent to him from the Pope) *that no Conſpiracy was ever more adviſedly undertaken, nor with greater unanimity and conſtancy concealed. Which in ſo long time was revealed by none of the confederates: and that the forces might eaſily have been tranſported from the Low-Countries in the ſpace of twenty four hours, which might*

might have ſupriſed the Queen and the City of London, *reſtored Religion, and ſetled the Queen of* Scots *in her Throne: eſpecially, when as* Th. Stucley *an Engliſh fugitive had taken upon him at the ſame time, with* 3000. *Spaniſh Souldiers, to reduce all Ireland* to the Obedience of *Spain*, and with one or two ſcouting Ships, to fire the Engliſh Navy. The Duke of *Norfolk* was *brought to his Tryal* the 16. of *January* following, and *Condemned*; and the 2. of *June* after *beheaded. The Pope* in the mean time, the firſt of *May*, being *called to his tryal* and to give an account for theſe things 1572.
before a far other Supreme Throne of Juſtice, than what he pretended himſelf here placed in.

27. Before we leave this Pope *Pius* v. we may take notice of *two notable horrid exploits*, about his time practiſed in our neighbour Countries; The firſt in *Scotland*, *the murther of the Lord* Darby, King *James* his father, in the firſt year of his Papacy, and the houſe wherein he was murthered at the ſame time blown up with Gun-powder; in relation to which *Thuanus* tells us: *Ad hæc Pontificis, &, ut paſſim jactabatur, Caroli Lotaringi Cardinalis Literis incitabantur; nam cum per eum a Pontifice petiiſſent pecuniam ad inſtaurandam majorum religionem, reſponſum fuerat, fruſtra ipſos conari, niſi ſublatis iis, per quos ſtabat ne res exitum ſortiretur. &c. lib.* 40. *ad finem Anni* 1566. The other in *France*, that barbarous *Maſſacre* at *Paris*, which though not executed till near two moneths after this Popes death, yet it is obſervable that *Cicarella* notes in his life: *Ad Regem Galliarum, ejuſque Miniſtros optima miſit documenta, ad eoſdem Hereticos Regno illo exturbandos:* and what theſe *documenta* were, we may the better gueſs, if we take notice of the temper and employments of this man; a moſt ſevere, auſtere man, who had with ſo much rigor exerciſed the buſineſs of the Inquiſition wherein he was imployed, as made many dread his ſeverity when he was choſen Pope. And the ſame Authour notes his *irreconciliabile in Hereticos odium*, though he looks upon it as matter of Commendation. But how *exceeding mad* he was *againſt them*, condemning and burning, even for familiarity with Sectaries or thoſe that were ſuſpected ſuch,

may be ſeen at large in the Noble Author *de Thou. lib. 39. pr.* And in both theſe exploits is obſervable, the Care that was taken to caſt the Odium of the fact upon others. But to return to our own ſtory,

28. After the death of this man, the thirteenth of the ſame moneth was *Gregory* XIII. *choſen Pope.* And although with their late diſappointment, their party alſo in *England* was much broken and diſabled for the future, the chief heads being taken off, yet was it not long before this Pope was alſo engaged in the ſame *Combination.* Which was firſt begun *between him and Don* John *of* Auſtria, baſe brother to
1576. the King of *Spain*, and by him about that time appointed Governour of the *Low-Countries*, and in purſuance thereof, the Pope wrote to the King of *Spain.* But Don *John*'s Exploits were prevented by his own death before ever he could
1578. put them in practice. Yet the like Conſultations were ſoon
Thu. lib. 65. Camd. hoc An. reſumed by the Pope and the King himſelf; and now *England* and *Ireland* both are to be invaded together, and *Th. Stucley*, whom the Pope had honoured with the Title of Marqueſs, Earl, Viſcount and Baron of ſeveral eminent places in *Ireland*, is to command the forces thither, the Pope providing men, and the *Spainard* money. But this ſtorm was blown over into *Africa*, where *Stucley* and part of his men were ſlain. However the next year is ſent into *Ireland*,
1579. from *Spain*, *James Fitz-Morice* with ſome Companies of
Thu. lib. 68. Souldiers, and with them from the Pope *Nic. Sanders*, our Author above mentioned, with Authority Legatine and a
1580. conſecrated Banner: and to them the years after *San Joſeph*
Thu. lib. 70. with ſeven-hundred Italian and Spaniſh Souldiers, and arms for five thouſand more to arm the Iriſh, and ſome ſtore of
* *Bacons* Obſervations. money; theſe being but * the forerunners of a greater Power, which by treaty between the King of *Spain* and the Pope ſhould have followed; and the Pope to animate the Iriſh, ſends them his Breve, with Apoſtolical Benediction, wherein reciting that *he had of late years by his Letters exhorted them to the Recovery of their Liberty, and Defence of it againſt the Hereticks &c. and that they might more cheerfully do it, had granted to all ſuch as ſhould be any ways aſſiſting therein, a*
Oſullevan Hiſt. Catbol. Hibern.

Plenary

Plenary Pardon and Forgiveneſs of All their Sins; he now *grants to all ſuch, whom he alſo exhorts, requires and urges in the Lord to indeavour to help againſt the ſaid hereticks, the ſame Plenary Indulgence and Remiſſion of their Sins, which thoſe who fight againſt the Turk do obtain.* And to this expedition the Pope promiſed a *Crucias* and 1000000. *Aurea.* But all theſe with their Iriſh Confederates, the Earl of *Deſmond*, his brothers and their party, were very happily defeated by the Queens forces, at the very inſtant when divers ſhips upon the Sea were bringing them more forces and aſſiſtance; and the Popes Legate, *Sanders*, died miſerably of hunger, and, as ſome ſay, mad upon the ill ſucceſs of the Rebellion.

29. About this time *the Seminaries* began to ſwarm; and becauſe *the Bull of Pius* v. had not yet ſufficiently produced its intended and expected effect even with a great part of *the Papiſts* themſelves, who ſeeing the neighbour Popiſh Princes and Provinces, not to abſtein from their uſual commerce with the Queen, *continued ſtill in their Obedience* to her, and were offended at the Bull as a miſchievous ſnare to them: therefore for their ſatisfaction it is *Decreed at* Rome, *that the Bull doth* always *Oblige Elizabeth* and the Hereticks, but not the Catholicks *rebus ſic ſtantibus*, but only then, when they ſhould be able publickly to put it in execution. And that it might in due time be effectually Executed, *Miſſions* are made into *England to Prepare a Party* to adhere to the *Spaniard* at his coming to invade us. And the better to conceal and diſguiſe the Practice and make the Queen and her Councel the more ſecure, it is *Reſolved not to have any Head* of the party here. But *the Emiſſaries* coming dayly over in various *Diſguiſed Habits*, deal particularly, and ſo more effectually, with the people in their ſecret Confeſſions, *Abſolving* them particularly in private from Obedience and Fidelity to the Queen, as the Bull of *Pius* v. had done in publick, but only in general: and ſeverally *Engaging* them in that ſecret manner, as hath been before mentioned, ſo as none could be privy to others engagements. And theſe

Sanders p. 371. *Camd. p.* 180.

Thu. lib. 74. *Camd. an.* 1580.

Bacon Obſerv. Collect. & Confid.

Camd. fine Ann. 1580.

Camd. p. 315. 348.

Camb. *Bri. An.* 1581. *Thu. l.* 74.

Doctrines were every where *inculcated: That Princes not profeſſing the Roman Religion, are fallen from their Title and Royal Authority.* 2. *That Princes Excommunicate, are not to be Obeyed, but thrown out of their Kingdoms (and that it is a meritorious work to do it.)* 3. *That the Clergy are exempt from the Juriſdiction of Secular Princes, and are not bound by their Laws.* 4. *That the Pope of* Rome *hath the Chief and Full Power and Authority over All, throughout the whole world, even in Civil matters.* 5. *That the Magiſtrates of* England *are not Lawful Magiſtrates, and therefore not to be accounted Magiſtrates at all.* 6. *That what ever, ſince the Bull of* Pius v. *was publiſhed* (which ſome hold to have been dictated by the Holy Ghoſt) *hath by the Queens Authority been acted in* England, *is by the Law of God and Man to be reputed altogether void and null.* Theſe Doctrines thus ſecretly inſtilled into mens minds in private, were ſeconded with ſeveral *pernitious Books* in print, againſt the Queen, and Princes Excommunicate. And as well to deter the reſt from Obedience, and move them to Expectation of Change, and Reconciliation to the Church of *Rome*, as to encourage their own party, they not only by *Rumours*, but alſo by printed Books gave out, that the Pope and King of *Spain* had conſpired to ſubdue *England* and take it for a prey. This is true, ſays Sir *Fr. Bacon*, and witneſſed by the Confeſſions of many, that almoſt all the Prieſts, which were ſent into this Kingdom from that year 1581. to the year 1588. (at what time the Deſign of the Pope and *Spain* was put in Execution) had in *their Inſtructions*, beſides other parts of their Function, to diſtil and inſinuate into the People theſe Particulars; *It was impoſſible things ſhould continue at this ſtay; They ſhould ſee ere long a great change in this State; That the Pope and Catholick Princes, were careful for the Engliſh, if they would not be wanting to themſelves.* Which are almoſt the very words of *Sanders* mentioning the conſiderations upon which theſe Seminaries were at firſt founded. But notwithſtanding this, we are not to think that All the Prieſts which were ſent over, were acquainted with the *Arcana* and Secrets of the Deſign, but only the Superiours and ſome of the beſt quali-

Camd. *an.* 1580 *l.* 318.

Collect. of the Churches.

Camd. *an.* 81. *Thu lib.* 74. *Bac.* Collect.

qualified for the buſineſs, who managed and ſteered the actions of the reſt, according to their private Inſtructions.

30. Hereupon, ſays *Riſhton*, who publiſhed and inlarged *Sanders* his book, ſpeaking of theſe Miſſions, ſoon after enſued a great change of minds, and wonderful encreaſe of Religion. Which, that we may know it by its Fruits, preſently appeared in ſeveral deſperate attempts *and Reſolutions to Kill the Queen.* Firſt, by *Somervil*, who being taken and condemned with *Hall* a Prieſt and others whom he confeſſed, was three days after found ſtrangled in the priſon, for fear, probably, leaſt he ſhould have diſcovered others. Then, to paſs by the practiſe of *Bern. Mendoza* the Spaniſh Ambaſſadour *Lieger* here with *Throgmorton*, and *Martins* book, *by* William Parry *Doctor of Law*, encouraged thereunto by *Ben. Palmius* a Jeſuite, *Ragazonius* the Popes *Nuncio* in *France*, Cardinal *Como*, and the Pope himſelf, who ſends him his Benediction, Plenary Indulgence and Remiſſion of all his Sins, and aſſures him, that beſides his Merit which he ſhall have in Heaven, his Holineſs will remain his debtor, to acknowledge his deſert in the beſt manner he can: and after all this very much excited to it by Dr. *Allens* Book, which, ſaith he, teacheth, that Princes Excommunicate for hereſie are to be deprived of their Kingdoms and Lives. All which *Parry* confeſſed, produced the Letter from the Pope written by Cardinal *Como*, and was executed in *March* 1584. and *the Pope* ſoon after, in *April*, was *called to account* in another world. Immediately before this in *Thuanus* precedes the relation of *the murther of the Prince of* Aurang 10. *Jul.* by *Bal. Gerard* confirmed in his reſolution by a Jeſuite at *Treves*, promiſing him if he dyed for it, he ſhould be happy and be put in the number of Martyrs, and alſo encouraged to it by a Franciſcan at *Tourney*, and three other Jeſuites at *Treves*. 1583. 1584. *Thu. lib.* 79.

31. To *Gregory* ſucceeded, as well in his practiſes, as in that See, *Sixtus* v. choſen Pope the twenty fourth of the ſame moneth of *April*, and about this time *John Savage*, into whoſe head the Doctrines that it is meritorious to Kill Excom- 1585.

communicated Princes, and Martyrdom to die for ſo doing, being by the *Giffords* and *Hodgeſon* prieſts throughly inculcated, made a vow to kill the Queen. And ſoon after the
1586. ſame reſolution is taken up by *Antony Babington*, a proper young gentleman of a good family, upon the ſame principles in like manner inculcated, and ſomewhat enforced with other hopes if he eſcaped the danger, by *Ballard* a Jeſuite, who incited him to it, as *not only Juſt and Holy in it ſelf, but moreover Honourable and Profitable to him, if he ſhould overcome the difficulty. For what could be more Juſt and Holy, than with the hazard of his Life to vindicate his Countrey, and the Cauſe of Religion, without which Life it ſelf ought to be nothing eſteemed of.* Elizabeth *was now long ſince, by the Lawful Succeſſor of* Peter, *caſt out of the Communion of the Church: from that time ſhe doth not reign in* England, *but, by a uſurped Power contrary to the Laws, exerciſe a cruel Tyranny againſt the true Worſhippers of God. Whoever ſhould kill her, doth no more than he that ſhould ſlay a profane Heathen or ſome damned accurſed creature: he ſhould be free from all ſin either againſt God or Man; yea would merit a Crown of Glory: and if he ſurvived the enterpriſe, ſhould doubtleſs obtain a great reward*: under the notion of Reward not obſcurely inſinuating his marriage with the Queen of *Scots*. Thus is this Jeſuites diſcourſe with him repreſented by the Excellent *Thuanus*, who there informs us that this buſineſs was tranſacted with the Spaniſh Ambaſſadour *Mendoza*, and was to have been ſeconded by a forrein Army, and *Paget* a gentleman of a Noble family ſent into *Spain* about it. And at laſt all things being agreed on both at home and abroad, *the day appointed* for the perpetrating the buſineſs is *S. Bartholomews* day, memorable for the *Pariſian* Maſſacre fourteen years ſince, and for that reaſon purpoſely made choice of. But before the day came, the buſineſs being detected, *Ballard* and *Babington*, and ſeveral other of the *Conſpirators* were *apprehended*, whereof ſome had ſworn to be the Executioners of the Queens murther, and among them *Savage* now again ſwore it, and others were to be of the party, which the while was to reſcue the Queen of *Scots*; and upon their own Confeſſions

eſſions and Letters intercepted, were Convicted, Condemned and Executed. And in this Conſpiracy was a project of making an Aſſociation under pretenſe of fear of the Puritans. Theſe were executed but the twentieth of *September* and in *January* following was *the French Ambaſſadour l'Aubaſpineus*, a man wholly devoted to the *Guiſian* Faction, and Lieger here, projecting the ſame buſineſs; and to that purpoſe treated with *William Stafford*, a Gentleman of a Noble Family, to kill the Queen, at firſt more covertly, but afterward more openly by his Secretary, who promiſed him great Honours, a huge ſumm of Money, great Favour with the Pope, the Duke of *Guiſe* and all the Catholicks. *Stafford* refuſed it himſelf, but commended to him one *Moody*; and in Conſultation how to do it, *Moody* propoſes to lay a bag of Gunpowder under the Queens Bed-chamber, and ſecretly give fire to it. But this being diſcovered by *Stafford*, the Secretary thinking to be gone into *France* was intercepted, and upon his examination confeſſed the whole matter. Camb. *an.* 1587

32. Hitherto had the Actors and Abettors of moſt of theſe Conſpiracies, to put the better Colour upon their unjuſtifiable attempts, beſides the Cauſe of Religion, pretended alſo the Title *of the Queen of* Scots to the Crown of *England*, who having been diſcovered to be privy to moſt of the former, and found guilty of that of *Babington*, was therefore *condemned*; and now this being found to have been deſigned upon the ſame pretenſe, Queen *Elizabeth*, by great importunity of the Parliament, who had confirmed the Sentence, was prevailed with to ſign a Warrant for the Execution, whereupon ſhe was *beheaded* the eighth of *February* following. And here we muſt not omit *a Notable Artifice of the Jeſuites*, who being at laſt out of hope of Reſtoring their Religion by Her or Her Son, began to *ſet up a feigned Title for the King of* Spain, and imployed one of their Society into *England* (as is diſcovered by *Paſquier* a *French* Writer) to draw off the Gentry from Her to the *Spaniard*, and to *thruſt her headlong into thoſe dangerous Counſels* which brought Her to Her end: and at the ſame time, leaſt the Camb. *an.* 1586. Camb. *an.* 86.

the *Guiſes* her kindred ſhould give her any aſſiſtance, ſtirring Them up to new enterpriſes againſt the King of *Navarre* and *Conde*. And agreeable hereunto was *the diſcovery* of that for which ſhe was condemned, *viz.* *by* Gilbert Gifford *a Prieſt* then ſent over into *England*, to immind *Savage* of his Vow, and to be the Letter-carrier between the Queen of *Scots* and the Confederates, who preſently goes and offers his Service to the Secretary *Walſingham* to diſcover them; (and that forſooth out of Love to his Prince and Countrey, although he had not long before been one of thoſe who provoked *Savage* to his vow to kill her,) and accordingly he firſt conveyes them to *Walſingham*; by whom they are opened, tranſcribed and carefully ſealed up again and returned to *Gifford*, who then conveys them to the Queen of *Scots*, *Babington* or who ever elſe they are directed to; which is ſo plain a proſecution of the ſame deſign, that it is a wonder that *Camden* ſhould be ſo much at a loſs to find out the myſtery of this undertaking of the Prieſt. More might be obſerved to manifeſt this Juggle, if it were neceſſary to the preſent buſineſs.

33. *The Deſign* of the Pope and *Spaniard to Invade* England had been now long ſince *perceived here*, not ſo much by printed books, which were deſigned only to work upon the vulgar and their own party, as by the ſecret Letters of *Morton* and others which were intercepted, and *Chringhtow* the *Scotch* Jeſuit's papers, miraculouſly, as himſelf acknowledged, when by him torn and thrown into the Sea, blown back into the Ship wherein he was taken. But now *their preparations* being *in good forwardneſs* as well for the aſſault from abroad by their Navy and Army, as for their reception and admiſſion here by their party prepared by their Agents the Emiſſaries, the better to diſguiſe the buſineſs and to make the Queen and her Counſel the more ſe-
Camb. *an.* 1586 cure, they not only *publiſh a Book*, wherein the Papiſts in *England* are admoniſhed not to attempt any thing againſt their Prince, but to fight only with the weapons of Chriſtians, Tears, Spiritual Arguments, Sedulous Prayers, Watchings,

ings, Faſting, but alſo *a Treaty of Peace* is *earneſtly ſollicited* by the Duke of *Parma* with Authority from the King of *Spain*, which though not ſoon yielded to by the Queen, who ſuſpected ſome fraud or deceitful deſign in it, yet being at laſt obtained, is *kept on foot* till the engagement of both fleets break it off in the famous year of 88. At which time all the preparations being fully compleated for execution, the Pope, who had before promiſed the aſſiſtance of his Treaſure, begins firſt to thunder out *his Bull*: Which, *with a book* written by Doctor *Allen*, is *printed* at *Antwerp* in Engliſh in great numbers to be ſent over into *England*; in which book, for the greater terrour of the people, are particularly related their vaſt preparations, which were ſo great, that the *Spaniards* themſelves being in admiration of them, named it *the Invincible Armada*; and the Nobility, Gentry and people of *England* and *Ireland* are exhorted to joyn themſelves with the Spaniſh Forces under the conduct of the Duke of *Parma* for the Execution of the Popes Sentence againſt *Elizabeth*. With this Bull is Dr. *Allen*, (being, extraordinarily † out of the time allowed by the Canons even of this Pope, *made Cardinal* of purpoſe for this exploit) *ſent into Flanders*, to be ready, * upon the *Spaniards* Landing, *to paſs over into England*, as the Popes Legate *cum plena poteſtate*, and here *to publiſh the Bull*, 'In which Bull the Pope, by the 'power, which he ſaith is, from God, by the Lawful ſuc-'ceſſion of the Catholick Church, deſcended to him over 'All perſons, for ſeveral cauſes there in ſpecified, and more 'fully expreſſed in the Bulls of *Pius* V. and *Gregory* XIII. 'doth again proſcribe the Queen; Takes away all her Royal 'Dignity, Titles and Rights to the Kingdoms of *England* and '*Ireland*; Declaring her Illegitimate and a Uſurper of thoſe 'Kingdoms; Abſolving her Subjects from their Oath of 'Faith and Obedience to her; Threatens All of what con-'dition ſoever, under danger of the wrath of God, not to 'aſſiſt her in any wiſe after notice of this Mandate, but to 'im-

Thu. lib. 89. Camd. *an.* 1588

1588.

† *Thu. l.* 100.

* *Thu. l.* 89.

Some ſuch Officer we may ſuppoſe was intruſted with the three *Breves*, which were in like manner ſent to be in readineſs to be ſent over and publiſhed in the Popes name in three principal places of this Kingdom, as ſoon as the Powder-plot was diſcharged and had done its execution, as Biſhop *Andrews* reports from the *Spontaneous* confeſſion of a Jeſuit at the time of his writing, who was then here in priſon. *Reſponſ. ad Apol. Bellarm. cap.* 5. *pag.* 113.

'imploy all their power to bring her to Condigne puniſh-
'ment; Commands All Inhabitants of thoſe Kingdoms dili-
'gently to execute theſe Mandates, and as ſoon as they have
'certain notice of the *Spaniards* coming, to joyn all their
'forces with them, and in all things be obedient to *Parma*,
'the King of *Spain's* General; and laſtly, Propoſing Ample
'Reward to thoſe who ſhall lay hands upon the proſcribed
'Woman and deliver her to the Catholick party to be puniſh-
'ed, in concluſion, out of the Treaſury of the Church com-
'mitted to his Truſt and Diſpenſation, he draws out his
'treaſure, and Grants a Full Pardon of All their Sins to All
'thoſe who ſhould engage in this expedition. This *Thuanus*
'relates more at large, and preſently adds: *It was agreed in ſecret that King* Philip *ſhould hold the Kingdom, when reduced to the Obedience of the Church, of the Pope in Fee as of the Holy See, according to the Articles of the contract by* Ina, Henry 2. *and King* John *made and renewed, with the Title of Defender of the Faith.* And to reduce it to this Obedience, theſe were *the forrein Preparations* which were made according to *Thuanus his Account*: A Navy of 150. * *Ships* extraordinarily well furniſhed; and in it of *Mariners and Seamen* 8000. *Gally-ſlaves*, a great number, 2080. ſays *Camden*, of *Souldiers* 20000. beſides *Gentlemen and Voluntiers*; for ſcarce was there any family of note in *Spain*, which had not ſon, or brother or couſin in that fleet; *Braſs Guns* 1600. *Iron Guns* 1050. Of *Powder*, *Bullet*, *Lead*, *Match*, *Muskets*, *Pikes*, *Spears* and ſuch like weapons, with other inſtruments and engines, great abundance, as alſo of Horſes and Mules, and *Proviſions* for ſix moneths. And that nothing might be wanting as to matters of Religion, they brought along with them the *Vicar General of the Sacred Office*, as they call it, that is the *Inquiſition*, and with him of Capucines, Jeſuites and Mendicants, above 100. And beſides all theſe, were prepared in *Flanders* and thoſe parts, by the Duke of *Parma*, of *Flat-bottomed Boats for tranſportation* of men and Horſe and other neceſſaries 288. of *Veſſels for Bridges* fitted with all things neceſſary, 800. and of *Armed men* 20900. 50000 *Veterane* Souldiers ſays Sir *Fr. Bacon*. But all theſe preparations

* Of vaſt burden, ſays *Cicarella*, beſides an infinite number of ſmall ſhips; *In vita Sixti* v.

tions and forces were not greater, than was the *Spaniard's* expectation and *confidence of* an assured *Victory and Absolute Conquest* of this Kingdom; and that not only *in respect of* the strength and *greatness of their Forces*, though so great that in admiration of this Navy, they named it, as hath been said, *The Invincible Armado*: and so was it called in a Spanish ostentation throughout Europe, and hath indeed been thought the greatest Navy that till that time ever swam upon the Sea; though not for number, yet for Bulk and Building of the Ships, with the Furniture of great Ordnance and Provisions. But that which very much heightened their Confidence, was the *supposed Goodness of their Cause, and presumption of the Divine assistance* accordingly favouring them in it, and thereby signally ratifying the Sentence of Christs Vicar, this being assigned as an Apostolical Mission against the Incorrigible and Excommunicate Hereticks to reduce them to the Obedience of the Catholick Church (of *Rome*,) and to execute his Holines's Sentence of Excommunication against that accursed Anathematized woman; (though this, that we may note it by the way, was properly and anciently reputed, the Office only of Satan and his Angels and Ministers, and never taken out of their hands till Pope *Gregory* VII. after above a thousand years exercise of it, by the Plenitude of his Power, took upon him to dispose, as it seems, of the Kingdom of Darkness, as well as of the Empires and Kingdoms of the Earth.) But the Judgement of Heaven was contrary to their expectations; and as the Scripture tells us The Curse Causeless shall not come, so it pleased God to turn their curse into a Blessing. For with this Monstrous Navy, though the *Spaniards* perswaded themselves, that the English terrified with the sight of it, would not dare to assail it, but only sailing at a distance, observe their Course, and the while give *Parma* an opportunity, without difficulty, to waft over his Forces and pour them in upon *London*, yet did the English, though, through the abuse of that fraudulent Treaty, and some reports of the *Spaniards* not coming out that year at the instant purposely cast abroad, not altogether ready and prepared, couragiously engage; and in few days, *Tou. p.* 253.

f a ha-

having taken and ſent home two of their great ſhips, ſo diſtreſſed this Great Navy, that they were forced to fly; and having chaſed them toward the North until, for want of Powder, they were forced to give them over, returned home with the loſs not of an hundred men, and but of one Ship; while theſe Executioners of the Popes *Anathema*, according to the Curſe in the Scriptures, came out againſt us one way, and fled before us ſeven ways, being driven about all *Britain*, by *Scotland*, the *Orcades*, *Ireland*, grievouſly afflicted with Tempeſts, Shipwracks, and all kind of Miſeries, and very much curtailed; and at laſt Reſolving in Councel, that, for as much as the Heavens and the Sea being their Enemies, their condition was now ſuch as by no Humane Strength, Virtue or Counſel, could be reſtored, every one ſhould return into *Spain* which way he could, and all meet at a place appointed: they accordingly held their Courſe for *Spain*, and many by Tempeſts and other misfortunes being loſt by the way, the reſt returned with Ignominy and Diſgrace: having loſt as the *Spaniards* write, ſaith *Thuanus*, 32. Ships, 10000. Men, and 1000. more carried Captive into *England*; but as the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* write, above 80. Ships, and as ſome of their own ſay, the greateſt part of that ſo Glorious Fleet: which had been the preparations of five whole years at the leaſt, (ſays *Bacon*) through *Spain*, *Italy*, *Sicily*, *Flanders*, their moſt expert Commanders and *Veteran* Souldiers, being ſent for even out of *America*, and had coſt, before ever they ſet out to ſea, not ſo little as 12000000 *aures* (*centies vicies centena millia aureorum*) as appeared by their books of account, as the Spaniſh Ambaſſadour informed the *French* King in the hearing of *Thuanus*.

Camd. *p* 533.

Thu. p. 255.

Cicarel. in vita Sixti v.

Camd. pag. 513. 516.

1589. 34. Notwithſtanding this defeat of his Military Forces, after ſo great preparations, and that with ſo great expenſe of his Treaſure, yet it ſeems *the King of Spain* was ſo well pleaſed with the proceedings of his Agents the Emiſſaries here, that he thought good to *erect another Colledge* for them the next year, and, that they might not be far from his Court, at *Villadolit*. Which in ſhort time, about two years

years after, ſent out a *Miſſion* into *England*, the Emiſſaries coming over in the Diſguiſed Habits of Seamen, Merchants, Souldiers, *&c.* In the mean time *Sixtus* v. *dyed* about 27. *Aug.* 1590. *in ſo great hatred of the people*, for his intolerable Exactions & New Impoſitions, that there was preſently in the vacancy a concourſe of the people to throw down the Statue which in his life time was erected for him in the Capitol. *At his Election*, *the Cardinals* in the Conclave were all firſt *ſworn*, that whoever of them ſhould be choſen Pope, among other things for the Benefit of (their) Religion, the Dignity of the Holy See, and the Splendour of the Sacred Colledge (of Cardinals,) ſhould to the beſt of his Power, Engage the Catholick Princes to fight againſt the Turk, Hereticks and Schiſmaticks. And how well this man being choſen proſecuted the deſign of his Oath, may be underſtood in part by what hath been ſaid already, and may be further ſeen in his dealings with our Neighbours in *France*. Whereof an inſtance or two by the way, and a word or two of his quality and manners, will not be much beſide our purpoſe. He had his Original, as himſelf uſed to glory, from an Illuſtrious Houſe; for, for want of Covering, it was in all parts illuſtrated by the Sun-beams; being born of poor parents in a pittiful Cottage. But his good qualities were muſt conſpicuous after his Election to the Papacy, being a moſt Imperious, Proud, Ambitious, Vain-glorious, Gluttonous, Covetous, Unjuſt, Revengeful, Inhumane, and raſhly ſevere man, the contraries whereof, by a ſpecial faculty of Diſſimulation, he had before ſimulated, as he is deſcribed by *Thuanus* and *Cicarella* in his life. He began *the exerciſe of his Authority* with a raſh and unjuſt condemnation of *a young man of Florence* to be hanged, for only refuſing in his Maſters houſe to deliver an Aſs to the Popes Officers, which was not his in whoſe name they demanded it, but the young mans maſter's, all men pittying the hard caſe of the poor fellow. Nor was this dealing uſed only with men of inferiour quality; for by his command the Cardinal *Salviato* at *Bononia*, having ſummoned *Count John Pepulus*, a man of prime Nobility and of no leſs Piety and Probity, for entertaining certain Gentlemen who

1590. *Thu. l.* 100.

Cicarel. in vita ejus.

Thu. l. 83. *Cicarel. in vita.*

who were exiles, in ſome places, out of the Popes Territories, which were anciently granted to him by the Emperor, when he pleaded a Preſcription of the Emperors Priviledge, cauſed him in the night to be pulled out of his own houſe, and, having a Prieſt ready to confeſs him, preſently to be ſtrangled. And that we may ſee how well he could uſe *both ſwords*, in the beginning alſo of his Papacy, he ſent out his *Excommunication againſt the King of* Navarre *and the Prince of Conde*; after a glorious Preface concerning the Authority given to *Peter* and his Succeſſors, far above all the Powers of Earthly Kings and Princes, which never ſwerves from right judgment, Declaring them to be Sectaries, and publick and manifeſt Favourers and Defenders of Sectaries; guilty of high treaſon againſt the Divine Majeſty, and Enemies of the Catholick Faith; to be faln from all Right of Dignity; and them and their Succeſſors to be unworthy to ſucceed in any principality, particularly in the Kingdom of *France:* Abſolving their Subjects from their Oath of Fidelity; and laſtly Exhorting the King of *France* to be mindful of his Oath at his Coronation, and to Extirpate all the ſeeds of the Sectaries. And we may ſuppoſe that he was true to his Oath and the Intereſt of his See, when he *deceived the expectations of the Leaguers in France* and their aſſiſtants the *Spaniard*, leaſt, as *Cicarella* notes, if the King of *France* and his party ſhould have been overcome by the Aſſiſtance of *Spain*, the *Spaniard* might take the advantage of it to enlarge his own Dominions too much, which might have proved dangerous to the Holy See. But he made them amends for it afterward, though without any expenſe of his Treaſure, for he ſent out his *Excommunication againſt the King of France* himſelf, although a man of an irreconcilable hatred againſt the Proteſtants, and who had been a promoter of the *Pariſian* Maſſacre, unleſs within ten days he ſhould ſet at liberty the Cardinal *Bourbon*, whom the Rebels deſired to make head of their party. This was publiſhed in *May*, and the 1. of *Auguſt* after, was *the King murthered* by *James Clement* a *Jacobin*, who was thus reſolved in the Caſe by the * Prior of his Covent, that *if he undertook it, not out of hatred or deſire*

Thu. l. 96.
* F. *Edm. Burgoin*, who was afterwards executed for it, drawn in pieces by four horſes, his quarters burned, & his aſhes ſcattered in the wind. *Danita, l.* 10. *p.* 857.

fire of private revenge, but inflamed with the love of God, for Religion and the good of his Country, he might not only do it with a ſafe Conſcience, but ſhould merit much before God, and without doubt if he ſhould die in the act, his ſoul would aſcend to the Quires of the Bleſſed; and as ſome ſay he was likewiſe encouraged by F. *Commelet* and other Jeſuites. *This fact* of *Clement* was highly *extolled in France* both in Sermons and Printed books: and the Leaguers had that opinion of his Martyrdom (for he was preſently killed in the place, and afterward pulled to pieces and his body burned) that they came to the place, and ſcraped up the very duſt and earth whereon any of his blood lighted as Sacred Relicks, and put it into a Veſſel in which they came, intending to carry it to *Paris*, and there erect a Monument of his Martyrdom *ad adorationem*; but by a vehement wind, which ſuddenly aroſe, both veſſel and paſſengers were all drowned, not one eſcaping, and the relicks caſt away. Nor was the fact leſs extolled *at Rome*, even *by the Pope* himſelf, *in a Premeditated Speech* in the Conſiſtory, wherein he not only preferred that wicked wretch before *Eleazar* and *Judith*, but moſt impiouſly and blaſphemouſly compared his fact, for the greatneſs and admirableneſs of it, to the Myſtery of the Incarnation and Reſurrection of our Lord and Saviour. The King had cauſed the Duke of *Guiſe*, who was head of the Rebels, to be ſlain; and this was one main matter, which incenſed the Pope againſt him. For *the Pope* had *agreed with* Guiſe *in ſecret*, to marry his Niece to the Prince of *Jonvil*, *Guiſe* his ſon and heir, and to depoſe the King, thruſt him into a Monaſtery, and compel him by the Popes authority to renounce his right to the Kingdom, and to ſet up *Guiſe* the father, King in his place. But how zealous and jealous he was for the Dignity and Authority of the Holy See, is worth our further notice, in an inſtance related by a good Catholick, the learned Civil Lawyer *William Barclay*, in his book *De Poteſtate Papæ* dedicated to Pope *Clement* VIII. *None of all the writers of the Popes part, ſaith he, hath either more diligently collected, or more ingeniouſly propoſed, or more ſmartly and ſubtilely concluded their reaſons and arguments for the*

Thu. l. 94.

Popes

Popes Authority than the Eminent Divine Bellarmine, *who although he attributed as much as with honeſty he could, and indeed more than he ought to have done, to the Authority of the Pope in Temporals, yet could he not ſatisfie the Ambition of that moſt Imperious man* Sixtus v. *who affirmed that he held a Supreme Power, over All Kings and Princes of the whole Earth and all People and Nations, delivered to him, not by humane, but Divine Inſtitution. In ſo much, that he was very near, by his Papal Cenſure, to have aboliſhed, to the great detriment of the Church, all the works of that Doctor, which at this day oppoſe hereſie with very great ſucceſs, as the Fathers of that Order of which* Bellarmine *was, have ſeriouſly told me*, cap. 13. But enough of *Sixtus*; By whom, for example, we may gueſs, by theſe fruits, what likelyhood there is, that he and ſuch as he whereof there hath been no ſmall number Popes, ſince the tenth Age eſpecially (that *Seculum Infelix*, when with a great Eclipſe of Learning, the Popes of *Rome*, as even *Bellarmine* noteth, degenerated from the Piety of the Ancients) were partakers of, and directed by that Holy Spirit, which God giveth to them that obey him, to conduct them in all truth, or rather the Spirit of the world, the Spirit that worketh in the children of diſobedience, whoſe works they have done.

35. The *three next ſucceeding Popes*, *Urban* 7. *Gregory* 14. and *Innocent* 9. did not all of them live out half three years
1591. from the death of this; and therefore we cannot expect to hear of any attempts or deſign of theirs againſt this Kingdom. But after *Clement* VIII. who was elected Pope 3.
1592. *Feb.* 159$\frac{1}{2}$. was ſettled in his ſeat, the like practiſes ſoon began again, wherein thoſe agents whom we have mentioned
1593. before, *Hesket*, *Lopez* and, Complices his *Cullen*, *York* and
1594. *Williams* (who confeſſed ſome others) and *Squire*, were imployed to raiſe rebellion, poiſon or aſſaſſinate the Queen; *Lopez* by the King of *Spain's* Miniſters of State, not without the privity and conſent of himſelf; all the reſt incited and encouraged by *the Jeſuites*, who for the like practiſes at the ſame time againſt the moſt Chriſtian King, though then be-
Tou. l. III. come Catholick too, were *exterminated out of all France*, and

and a Pyramid erected for their perpetual Infamy. But from all theſe God ſtill preſerved her, the Emiſſaries being diſcovered, taken and Executed. Nor did he only preſerve her from their attempts, but ſhortly after bleſſed her with happy ſucceſſes in *an Expedition againſt the Spaniards* then preparing again to Invade *England*; wherein *the King of Spains Navy* of 50. tall Ships, beſides twenty Gallies to attend them, were beaten and put to flight, and in the end all, but two which were taken by the Engliſh, *burned*, only the twenty Gallies, by the benefit of the Shallows, eſcaping: the town of *Cadiz*, manned with 4000. foot and 400. horſe, taken ſack'd and burnt but great Clemency uſed toward the inhabitants: and at laſt the Engliſh returning home with honour and great ſpoils, beſides the two Gallions, and about 100. great braſs Guns and great ſtore of ammunition and proviſions of war taken in the town, and with very ſmall loſs, and but of one perſon of quality: the *Spaniards* having loſt in all firſt and laſt, 13. of their beſt men of war, and 44. other Ships of great burden, and in Ships, great guns and military proviſions, by the eſtimate of the moſt knowing perſons above 3000000 ducates. And when the King of *Spain* not long after, that he might repair this loſs, in a heat had from all parts gathered together all the Ships he could, and manned even the ſtrangers Ships which were in the Ports of *Spain*, and ſet out this Navy to Land upon the Coaſts either of *England* or *Ireland*, the Heavens fought for her, and ſo favoured her, that by a horrid tempeſt which aroſe, moſt of thoſe Ships were either ſunk by the waves, or broken againſt the rocks, in ſo much that ſhe ſooner heard of the deſtruction of her enemies, than of their ſetting out to Sea to aſſault her. The year enſuing, great preparations were made on both ſides, but the Heavens not favoring any further proceedings of this kind, both the Fleets were ſo diſperſed by ſtorms, that neither came within ſight of the other. And now *the King of Spain* became well *inclined to a peace with England*, which, though propoſed by the French, he lived not to ſee brought to effect, for he *died* the 13. of *Sept.* after.

1596. *Bacon* Obſerv.

Camd. *an.* 1595

1597.

1598.

36. But the death of the King of *Spain* did not dissolve *the Combination*, no more than the deaths of so many several Popes before had done. For it *still survived* in his son *Phil.* III. *with Clement* VIII. Only so many former attempts having proved altogether unsuccessful against *England*, there was now with the persons some change also of their Counsels; and all their Consultations against *England*, were afterward so directed as to depend for their execution upon the death of the Queen. Yet in *Ireland* there seemed some hopes that something might be effected at present, by assisting the Rebels there; and therefore for their encouragement and assistance, the King of *Spain* by his Agent *Don Martin de la*
1599. *Cerda*, sends them money and Ammunition; and the Pope, by *Mathew de Oviedo*, whom he designed Archbishop of *Dublin*, Promises of Indulgence, with a *Phœnix* plume to
1600. *Tir-Oen* their General; and the year after, he sends them his Indulgence it self, to this effect, *That whereas of long time, being led on by the Exhortations of his Predecessors and himself and of the Apostolick See, for the recovery and defence of their Liberty against the Hereticks, they had with United minds and Forces, given aid and assistance, first to* James Fitz-Girald, *and lastly to* Hugh Onel *Earl of* Tyron *Captain General of the Catholick Army in* Ireland, *who with their Souldiers had in process of time performed many brave atchievements, fighting manfully against the enemy, and for the future are ready to perform the like; that they may all the more cheerfully do it, and assist against the said Hereticks, being willing after the example of his Predecessors to vouchsafe them some Spiritual Graces and Favours, he favourably grants to all and every one who shall joyn with the said* Hugh *and his Army asserting and fighting for the Catholick Faith, or any way aid or assist them, if they be truly penitent and have confessed, and if it may be, received the Sacrament, a Plenary Pardon and Remission of All their Sins; the same which used to be granted by the Popes of* Rome *to those who go to war against the Turks.* (18. *April* 1600. *Camd. p.* 750. *Foul. p.* 651.) And the next year again for
1601. their further encouragement, he sends a particular *letter to Tyrone*, wherein he Commends their Devotion, in engaging in

In a Holy League, and their valour and atcheivements; Exhorts them to continue unanimous in the ſame mind; and Promiſes to write effectually to his Sons, the Catholick Kings and Princes, to give all manner of Aſſiſtance to them and their cauſe; and tells him, he thinks to ſend them a peculiar *Nuncio*, who may be helpful to them in all things as occaſion ſhall ſerve. (20. *Jan.* 1601. *Fonl. p.* 655.) *The King of Spain* likewiſe ſends *his Aſſiſtance*; a great fleet, who landed at *King-Sale* 20. *Sept.* under the conduct of *Don John d'Aquila*; who *ſets out a Declaration*, ſhewing the King of *Spain*'s pretenſe in the war, which, he ſaith, is *with the Apoſtolick Authority to be adminiſtred by him*; *that they perſwade not any to deny due Obedience* (*according to the word of God*) *to their Prince*, *but that all know*, *that for many years ſince*, Elizabeth *was deprived of her Kingdom*, *and All her Subjects Abſolved from their Fidelity*, *by the Pope*; *unto whom he that reigneth in the Heavens*, *the King of Kings*, *hath committed All Power*, *that he ſhould Root up*, *Deſtroy*, *Plant and Build*, *in ſuch ſort*, *that he may puniſh temporal Kings* (*if it ſhould be good for the Spiritual Building*) *even to their Depoſing*; *which thing hath been done in the Kingdoms of* England *and* Ireland *by many Popes*, viz. *by Pope* Pius v. Gregory XIII. *and now by* Clement VIII. *as is well known*, *whoſe Bulls are extant*: *that the Pope and the King of* Spain *have reſolved to ſend Souldiers*, *Silver*, *Gold*, *and Arms with a moſt liberal hand*: *that the Pope Chriſts Vicar on Earth*, *doth command them* (the Papiſts in *Ireland*) *to take Arms for the defenſe of their Faith*, &c. (*Camd. p.* 829. *Foul.* 658.) And not long after *more Supplies* were ſent from *Spain* under *Alonſo de Ocampo*. But it pleaſed God to make *the Queen* ſtill *Victorious* over All; and part of them, with the Iriſh Rebels, being beaten and routed in the Field, the reſt are brought to articles, upon which they Surrender All, and are ſent home, when more forces were coming from *Spain* to their recruit. The next year moſt of the other Rebels being defeated and ſubdued, laſt of all *Mac Eggan*, the Popes Vicar Apoſtolick, with a party of the Rebels, which he himſelf led, with his Sword drawn in one hand, and his Breviary and Beads in

Thu. l. 125. *Cam. an.* 1601. & 1602.

1602.

the other, was ſlain by the Queens forces and the Rebels routed in *January* 160$\frac{2}{3}$. and ſo the whole Kingdom, *Tyrone* alſo ſubmitting to mercy, totally ſubdued. (*Camd. an.* 1603. *Foul. p.* 664.)

37. And now *this Bleſſed Queen*, having by an Admirable Providence of Almighty God, been Preſerved from All theſe both Secret Conſpiracies, and Open Invaſions, through a long Reign of four and forty years compleat, and made victorious over All her Enemies, as well abroad as at home: Out-lived her great and bitter enemy *Phil.* II. King of *Spain*, who himſelf lived to be ſenſible of the Divine Judgment of the Iniquity of his Actions againſt her, and to deſire a Peace with her, though he lived not to enjoy it: Out-lived four Kings of *France*, eight Popes, and the greateſt part of the ninth: and maugre all the Powers of Hell, the Malice and Wicked Machinations of Men of moſt turbulent and Anti-chriſtian Spirits, Defended that Purity of Religion, which, even at the very beginning of Her Reign, ſhe had, with Mature Deliberation, and a Generous and moſt Chriſtian Courage and Reſolution, notwithſtanding all Difficulties and Dangers which on every ſide threatened her undertakings, eſtabliſhed, was by the ſame at laſt brought to her Grave in Peace, in a Good Old Age. Her very Enemies admiring, as well her Worth and Excellence, as her Glory and Felicity; (ſee the one extolled by *Sixtus* v. *Thu. l.* 82. *p.* 48. and the other by *An. Ateſtina*, *l.* 129. and both more largly deſcribed by the Noble and Ingenuous *Thuanus l.* 129. and Sir *Francis Bacon* in his Collection of her *Felicities*) while *her Neighbours*, who wickedly and barbarouſly perſecuted the Profeſſors of that Reformed Religion, for their Religion ſake, which ſhe with great and Chriſtian Moderation towards the adverſaries of it, happily eſtabliſhed and defended, either lived not out half their days, or died violent deaths, and were murthered by their own Subjects of the ſame Religion with themſelves, or were otherwiſe unhappy in their attempts in that Eminently Remarkable manner, as is ſo far from being impertinent to our ſubject and deſign briefly to note, that it would be a great fault

1603.

and

and unworthy neglect not to do it. Certainly who ever ſhall impartially, and without prejudice conſider the Hiſtory of this bleſſed and happy Queen, and with it compare the Hiſtory of the Times both precedent and ſubſequent to her reign, and eſpecially of her neighbours in *France* durng her own times, muſt needs acknowledge, not only an Admirable Providence over Her, in both Preſerving and Bleſſing her in all her Affairs, but a *Special Diſtinguiſhing Providence*, thus favouring her, and at the ſame time in a very remarkable manner diſfavouring, Croſſing, Blaſting and Severely Puniſhing and Revenging the different and contrary Courſes and Practiſes of her Neighbours and others.

38. We might here remember the Story of Don *Sebaſtian* King of *Portugal*, who in the heat of his youth and devotion to the See of *Rome*, had tendered his ſervice to the Pope, and engaged in an Expedition againſt *England* and *Ireland*; but having raiſed a great Army and prepared a great Fleet, was by the King of *Feſſe* prevailed with to aſſiſt him in the recovery of his Kingdom in *Mauritania*. Where, with *Stukely*, (who commanded the *Italian* Forces raiſed by the Pope and King of *Spain*, for the ſervice againſt *Ireland*) whom he perſwaded to go with him firſt to the *African* war, he was ſlain, dyed without iſſue, and left his Kingdom a prey to the *Spaniard*; whereby not only the preſent ſtorm which threatned the Queen was blown over, but the *Spaniard* alſo for divers years diverted, by his wars with *Portugal* from moleſting the Queen in that manner, which otherwiſe 'tis likely he would have done, and from ſome ſuch Invaſion as, though then intended, was not actually undertaken till ten years after. We might here alſo remember Don *John* of *Auſtria*, in the heat of his eager deſigns upon *England*, cut off by the Plague, in the flower of his age; if his heart was not broken, as was thought, by the diſappointment of his ambitious deſigns, after he had fouly, by the Popes Diſpenſation, falſified his Oath taken to obſerve the Treaty made with the States General. And we might here likewiſe *Thuan.* *Raleigh.*

wiſe take notice, not only of what ſome may think obſerva-
*Thu.l.*120. ble in the Death of *the King* of *Spain*, if not devoured, yet in a great meaſure waſted and *conſumed by Lyce* bred in his own body, which in ſo great quantities iſſued out of four ſeveral tumours in his breaſt, as that it was as much as two men, by turns, could do, to wipe them off from him with napkins and cloathes: but of that which others may think more remarkable in his Life, which is, that having twice moſt ſolemnly *Sworn to the States General* of the *Low-*
Raleigh. *Countries* (over which he held only a kind of *Seigniory*) to Maintain their Ancient Rights, Priviledges and Cuſtomes, which they had enjoyed under their thirty and five Earls before him; and afterwards *obtained* from the Pope *a Diſpenſation* of his Oathes (which Diſpenſation, ſays Sir *Walter Rawleigh*, was the true cauſe of the war and Blood-ſhed ſince) when he *ſought contrary to his Oathes* and all Right and Juſtice, not only by new deviſed and intolerable Impoſitions, to tread their National and Fundamental Laws, Priviledges and Ancient Rights under his feet, and both by Arts, (dividing their Nobility,) and by Force, *to enſlave their Perſons and Eſtates*, and make himſelf Abſolute; but moreover by introducing among them, the Exerciſe of the Spaniſh Inquiſition, *to Tyrannize alſo over their Conſciences:* and in purſuance hereof had committed many barbarous Murders and Maſſacres among them; by the Juſt Providence of God, he was *thrown out of all*, and thoſe Rights and Priviledges, which he ſought to aboliſh, and that Religion which he ſought to oppreſs, were by that people retained and enjoyed with greater freedom and liberty than ever; ſo that in concluſion the recompenſe of that oppreſſion and cruelty which he exerciſed upon them, was the loſs of thoſe Countries, which, ſays *Raleigh*, for beauty, gave place to none, and for revenue, did equal his Weſt-Indies, beſides the loſs of an hundred millions of money, and of the lives of above four hundred thouſand Chriſtians, by him caſt away in his endeavours to enſlave them. If beſides this we reflect upon his many and various *attempts againſt the*
Thu.l. 120. *Queen of England*, ſome of them with ſo great ſtudy and vaſt

vaſt expenſe of his Treaſure; his unhappy *Wars* in aid of the Rebels *in France*, which his ambitious hopes had no leſs devoured, than they had *England*; all of them unſucceſsful and remarkably blaſted, and himſelf at laſt ſo weary of them, that he was glad to deſire peace with both; his fruitleſs *waſting of* 5594. *Myriads of Gold*, as himſelf confeſſed, without any other profit, than the acqueſt of *Portugal*, which he thought might be as eaſily loſt as his hopes of the Kingdom of *France* had ſuddenly vaniſhed, and however was ſufficiently ballanced with his loſs in *Africa* and elſewhere; the *death of his eldeſt ſon, by his own command*, as the Ieſuite * *Petavius* ſaith expreſly, and *the leſs of all his other ſons, ſave only* Phil. III. who ſucceeded him, and was the only ſon of all his four wives, who ſurvived him; If we ſeriouſly, I ſay, reflect upon all theſe, we may look upon the prolongation of his life, in reſpect of himſelf, but as a continuance of trouble and miſery to him; and in reſpect of this bleſſed Queen, to have been deſigned by God, for an Exerciſe of her Faith and Virtue, and a neceſſary means, to render his Favour and never failing Providence over her, the more Manifeſt, Conſpicuous and Exemplary to encourage others to Fidelity to him, and Reſignation to his moſt Wiſe, Powerful and Gracious Providence. But though theſe things do well deſerve our notice, yet that which I call a Diſtinguiſhing Providence, is yet more admirable and remarkable in her nearer neighbours in *France*.

* 9. *Ration. Temp.* 12.

39. When Queen *Elizabeth* began her Reign in *England*, *Henry* II. was *King of France*. His Father *Francis* I. who, in the beginning of his Reign, which was about the time of *Luthers* firſt appearing againſt Indulgences, had unhappily entred into a league with the Pope (*Leo* X.) which in the judgment of many, ſays *Thuanus*, brought deſtruction upon his affairs and family; though in many things unhappy throughout his whole Reign, yet certainly was he in nothing more unhappy, than in the guilt of ſo much innocent blood, as was ſhed in the barbarous and horrid *murders and ſlaughters* which were made upon the Proteſtants *of Merindol and Cabriers*, condemned meerly for their Religion, by a moſt rigid

Thu. l. 6.

rigid and ſevere Sentence of the Parliament of *Provence*, after which he never enjoyed himſelf, ſays *Raleigh*, nor indeed his life long after his approbation of that Execution, wherein their towns and villages, to the number of two and twenty, were burned, and themſelves, without diſtinction of age or ſex, moſt barbarouſly murthered. But being touched with remorſe of Conſcience, and repenting of it, upon his death bed he charged his Son, that the injuries done to that people ſhould be enquired into, and their murtherers, who in the cruelty of their execution had exceeded the ſeverity of the Sentence, to be duly puniſhed: threatening him with Gods judgments, if he neglected it. And among other Admonitions which he then gave him, this was one, to beware of the Ambition of the *Guiſes*, whom, he foreſaw, if admitted to the adminiſtration of the Kingdom, would reduce both his Children, and the People of *France*, to great miſeries. But *Henry* 11. no ſooner came to his Fathers throne, but he preſently began to practiſe the contrary to his directions, diſplacing thoſe that before had any part in the government, and ſubſtituting in their room the ſame men whom his Father had diſcharged, and *Guiſe* with the firſt, and at length the three brothers of *Guiſe* got into their hands all the principal governments, and chief dignities of the Kingdom, together with the ſuper-intendancy of all affairs, both Martial and Civil; the Conſequence of which did afterwards make good the truth of his fathers prediction. Nor did he much better perform his fathers charge, in doing Juſtice upon the bloody offenders; for though he gave the cauſe a long hearing, yet did not the iſſue of the judgment anſwer the great expectations, which the ſo many horrid crimes whereof they were accuſed did raiſe in mens minds: one only of the offenders, for want of friends at Court, being executed; but the principal actors of that wickedneſs, reſtored to their former dignity and places; ſo that inſtead of that Juſtice, which, if duly executed upon the offenders, might poſſibly have averted or mitigated the Divine vengeance, which hath ſince proſecuted his fathers guilt in his poſterity, he not only by neglect thereof, but alſo by his own contri-

Thu. l. 3. *Davil. p. 14.*

Davila p. 15. 19

Thu. l. 6.

continuance of the like cruelties, and for the ſame cauſe of Religion, appropriated his fathers guilt to himſelf, and with the addition of his own, tranſmitted the ſame to his poſterity, with the Divine Vengeance further provoked attending it. He began his Perſecutions of the Proteſtants in the firſt year of his reign, and continued the ſame to the laſt days of his life, with that reſolution, that no ſollicitation of neighbour Princes, his allies, could mitigate his fury. *He uſed his uttermoſt endeavour*, ſays *Davila*, p. 40. *to extirpate the roots of thoſe ſeeds in their firſt growth; and therefore with* Inexorable Severity *reſolved, that All who were found convict of this imputation, ſhould ſuffer* death without mercy. *And although Many of the Counſellors in Every Parliament, either Favouring the ſame Opinions, or Abhorring the Continual Effuſion of blood, made uſe of all their skill, to preſerve as many as they could from the Severity of his Execution; notwithſtanding the Kings Vigilance and Conſtancy was ſuch, chiefly* by the Incitements of the Cardinal of *Lorain*, (one of the *Guiſes*) *that he had reduced things to ſuch a point as would in the end, though with the Effuſion* of much blood, *have expelled all the peccant humours* (he means the Proteſtants) *out of the bowels of the Kingdom, if the accident which followed, had not interrupted the courſe of his reſolution.* That which he calls an accident, was the violent, and, in reſpect of the courſe of nature, untimely, but, in reſpect of Gods Providence, moſt ſeaſonable, death, of that cruel King, in the height of his Reſolutions of Inexorable Severity againſt the Proteſtants, by the hands of that ſame man, whom he had but few days before imployed to apprehend and impriſon ſome of the chief Senators, for no other cauſe but their Religion, and their free delivering of their Sentence, according to the Laws, in Parliament, concerning the cauſe of the Proteſtants; and at the ſame that Queen *Elizabeth* was with Her Senators Conſulting and Reſolved to Eſtabliſh that Religion, which he perſecuted: which ſhe happily by Gods Bleſſing effected, and procured a Bleſſing upon her ſelf and her Kingdom, while he furiouſly fighting againſt God, was in a Ludicrous fight, running at Tilt, by a Splinter of a bro-

ken lance, which found entrance at his eye though his head and body were clad in armour, cut off from further proſecuting his reſolutions, in the midſt of his years, and in the midſt of his publick Solemnities of the Nuptials of his eldeſt daughter to the King of *Spain*, which whom he had concluded to make a war againſt the Proteſtants, and of his only Siſter to the Duke of *Savoy*, in the view of the *Baſtile*, where thoſe Senators were kept in Priſon, and within two or three days, if not leſs, after one of the chief of them was declared heritick, and delivered over to the Secular Power; Leaving behind him a Curſe upon his poſterity, and Miſery and Confuſion to his Kingdom, principally cauſed and promoted by thoſe very inſtruments, whoſe Counſels and Inſtigations he had followed in his wicked and bloody practiſes.

1559. 40. He left *four ſons*, all in a manner *children*; the eldeſt
'*Francis* 11. who ſucceeded him, under the age of ſixteen;
Lib. 1. 'who by reaſon of his youth, or rather, as ſays *Davila*, his
'natural incapacity, requiring, if not a direct Regent, yet
'a prudent, aſſiduous Governour, till his natural weakneſs
'was overcome by maturity of years, the Ancient Cuſtoms
'of the Kingdom called to that Charge the Princes of the
'Blood, among which for nearneſs and reputation it be-
'longed to the Prince of *Conde*, and the King of *Navarre*. But *Katherine of Medicis* the Kings mother, and *Francis Duke of Guiſe*, with *Charles* his brother *Cardinal of Lorain*, uncles to *Mary* Queen of *Scots*, whom the King in the life-time of his father had married, ſeverally *aſpiring to the Government*; to which neither had right by the Laws of the Kingdom; and therefore deſpairing by their own power and intereſt, to obtain and retain it alone, they reſolved to unite their ſeveral intereſts and powers, and to ſhare it among them; and they quickly obtained, ſhe by her intereſt in the King her Son, and they by the means of their Niece, his Queen, that to the Duke was committed the Care of the
*Davil.l.*1. Militia; the Civil affairs to the Cardinal; and to the Queen-mother the Superintendance of all: the Princes of the blood and others of the prime Nobility being excluded not only from

from the Government, but alſo, by arts and affronts removed or repulſed from the Court it ſelf. *The Guiſes*, having thus intruded into the Authority aforeſaid, continued the ſame *Reſolutions of Severity*, againſt thoſe of the Reformed Religion, which they had infuſed, or at leaſt fomented and agitated in the former King; which they inſtantly put in execution. And the ſame moneth that this King came to the Crown, his *Order* is ſent out *for the tryal of the Senators* impriſoned by his father. Whereof one, *Anne du Bourg*, was afterward, for his Religion, *executed*; but *the reſt* not being convicted were only *degraded*. While theſe were brought to their Tryal, by the command of the Cardinal, *Severe Inquiſition* is made *at Paris*, into all ſuſpected of that Religion; and many both Men and Women are taken and clapt into Priſon; and many, to avoid the danger, forced to fly; many leaving their infants and little children behind them, who filled the ſtreets with the noiſe of their lamentable crys: their goods taken out of their houſes were publickly ſold, and their empty houſes proſcribed: and to increaſe the Odium of the people againſt them, the ſame *Calumnies*, which were heretofore caſt upon the Primitive Chriſtians, of promiſcuous copulation in their Nocturnal Meetings the lights being put out, were now renued againſt theſe, and baſe people produced by the Cardinal to prove it, who though upon tryal convicted of fraud and falſhood, were yet ſuffered to go unpuniſhed. The City being thus diligently ſearched, the ſame Courſe is immediately taken in the Suburbes, at S. *Germans*, and preſently after in the reſt of the Cities of *France*, eſpecially at *Poictiers*, *Thouloſe*, *Aix*, and throughout the whole Province of *Narbon*. Shortly after command is given to the Court, to proceed ſeverely againſt thoſe who were ſuſpected, and with all diligence to attend to the tryal of them, without intermiſſion. Whereupon the Priſons were all ſoon emptied, ſome being condemned to death, others baniſhed, and the reſt puniſhed with other mulcts and penalties. Nor did all this ſatiate the fury of theſe cruel & mercileſs men: for dreading the very mention of an Aſſembly of the Eſtates, which might correct *Thu. l.* 22.

the Exorbitances of their Uſurped Power, they accuſed all thoſe as Rebellious and Seditious, who deſired it: and when they perceived the Proteſtants, who were now very numerous notwithſtanding all the cruelties uſed againſt them, to concur in the ſame deſire, *new Arts and Snares* were *deviſed* to apprehend them; wherein alſo others who were not of their Religion, were often unawares ſurpriſed. For every where, at *Paris* eſpecially, were erected Images of Saints, in the Streets & by-ways, with lighted Candles ſet up to them in the day time, and a deal of Superſtitious Worſhip; and boxes ſet by them, into which, they who paſſed by were preſſed to caſt in money for providing of the Lights, and ſuch as refuſed to do it, or neglected to give reverence to the Images, were ſuſpected, and inſtantly aſſaulted by the Rabble: and happy was he, that in ſuch caſe could eſcape with his life, though immediately thruſt into priſon. All this was done the ſame year that *Francis* came to the Crown. And although in the entrance of the next year, about 12. *Mart.* leſt the Proteſtants exaſperated by all theſe Cruelties, ſhould be provoked to joyn with them, who at that time held a Conſultation againſt the *Guiſes*, to remove them and the Queen-mother from the Government, *this ſeverity* by the mediation of *Colinius* the Admiral and *Olinier* the Chancellour, was *by a publick Edict*, for the preſent *in part remitted*; Yet no ſooner was the danger of that Confederacy over by the defeat of the Enterpriſe at *Amboiſe*, but *the Edict* was *recalled*, and *new reſolutions* concluded for the utter ruine and extirpation of the Proteſtants: and that upon this further occaſion, and by the means following. The *Guiſes* nothing doubting but that the late attempt at *Amboiſe*, to ſurpriſe and remove them from the Government, was ſecretly excited and managed by the Princes of the blood, to whom the right, during the Kings inability, did belong; and that the Proteſtants, thus provoked by ſuch unjuſt perſecutions, would favour the right of the Princes; reſolved to cut off both: But conſidering that it would be difficult and hazardous, by open Force to get the Princes into their power, they reſolved to eſſay to accompliſh that by

Thu. l. 24.

1660.

Davil. l. 2.

Art;

Art; and therefore first by all means to conceal and dissemble their suspicion of them: and to that purpose, endeavoured to have the late business at *Amboise* imputed to the Protestants, and to attribute all to Diversity of Religions; which might also serve them to a further purpose, *viz.* to render their own cause and proceedings more plausible to the people, and the others more odious; and to urge this yet further, they endeavoured to possess the King with great apprehensions of the danger of his own person from that party, and the people with an opinion that that attempt was designed against the King himself; which was so gross a Calumnie, that *Davila* himself, though otherwise partial enough against the Protestants, thought it not fit to be credited; and at last, having used all their Arts to beget a confidence in the Princes that they had no designs against them, to accomplish their designs, they cause an Assembly of the Estates, whereat the Princes by their place were to attend, to be appointed at *Orleans*. Where against the Protestants in general, *Thu. l.* 26. they presently proceed more openly; and having obtained an Edict that all should exhibit a profession of their Faith, according to a Form, 18. years before prescribed by the *Sorbon* Doctors, and that they who refused, should be punished with loss of life and Goods: such were sent out throughout the whole Kingdom, who should apprehend all that were suspected to be of the Reformed Religion, with command to pull down the Houses and Castles of those who made any resistance. And the Princes, being at length with much Art and difficulty, wrought upon to come to the Assembly, though contrary to the perswasion of their friends, are instantly upon their arrival secured; *Navar* under a kind of Guard, but *Conde* close prisoner. Having thus gotten them into their hands, they without much difficulty resolve to circumvent *Conde* with Accusations of Rebellion, and put him to death under colour of Law. But for *Navar*, they were not a little doubtful what to do with him, and at last conclude to murder him secretly. But when all these designs against both the Protestants in general, and these Princes in particular, were brought to the very point of execution, and the

the Tragedy already begun, It pleaſed God, by the ſame means, whereby he had decreed to proſecute his judgments and vengeance againſt this perſecuting Houſe of *Valois*, to deliver thoſe who were deſigned for ſlaughter; and by the ſeaſonable intervention of the otherwiſe untimely death of this young King, before he had accompliſhed the age of eighteen, to confound and diſappoint all the ſubtile machinations, of theſe ambitious unchriſtian perſecutors. *As the force and violence of thunder*, ſays Davila, *uſeth in a moment to overthrow and ruine thoſe buildings which are built with great care and long labour; ſo his unexpected death, deſtroying in an inſtant thoſe Counſels, which with ſo much art and diſſimulation were brought to maturity and concluded, left the ſtate of things (already in the way (although by Violent and Rigorous Means, yet) to a certain and ſecure end) in the height of all diſcord, and more than ever they were formerly, troubled, wavering and abandoned.* Thus he, but we may rather obſerve the unſucceſsfulneſs of ſuch violent and Rigorous Courſes, though for the attaining of never ſo good and lawful ends; and that not ſo much of their own nature, as by the ſpecial Providence of God, who doth frequently ſuffer wicked and proud conceited men, confident of their own wit or ſtrength, to proceed in their wicked policies and the exerciſe of their malitious practiſes, till they be at the very point to receive their expected fruits of all, and then by ſome little occurrence to fruſtrate and blaſt all their hopes, and make them ſo much more miſerable by their diſappointment, by how much they thought themſelves nearer and ſurer of the enjoyment. Such were the Popes and *Spaniards* diſappoinment mentioned before *Sect.* 26. *pag.* 32. and that of 88. *Sect.* 33. and others. Whereas Queen *Elizabeths* moderate proceedings, but in a better cauſe, were all along bleſſed with happy ſucceſs.

41. To this young King, thus cut off in his youth, and leaving no iſſue behind him, (though ſome) years married to a beautiful young Lady, ſucceeded his brother *Charles* the nineth, a Childe of about Eleven years of Age; who,

who, by reaſon of his Minority, being incapable to exerciſe the Government, by *Agreement between the Queen-mother* (now ſufficiently weary of the Ambition and Inſolencies of the *Guiſes*, and ſuſpitious of their deſigns) *and the King of Navarre* firſt Prince of the blood (though the *Guiſes* uſed all their Arts to renue the former differences between them) *She* is *made Regent*, and *He Preſident of the Provinces*; and a Decree is made by the King, with the counſel and advice of the Queen Regent, *Navarre*, the reſt of the Princes of the blood and others, Privy Counſellors, whereby the Supreme Regimen of all is committed to Her. Hereupon the *Guiſes* being accuſtomed to govern, and not able to conform their minds to their preſent condition, *ſought* all manner of *opportunities*, whereby they might again raiſe themſelves to their former greatneſs. And whereas at the inſtance of *Navarre*, with the conſent of the Regent and the Councel (many diſliking the effuſion of ſo much blood for no other fault than profeſſion of the Reformed Religion) a *Decree* of Councel paſſed 28. *Jan.* for the Releaſe of all Priſoners committed only for matters of Religion, and to ſtop all Inquiſition appointed for that cauſe, to prohibit diſputations in matters of Religion, and particular perſons from reviling one another with the names of Heretick & Papiſt, & commanding all to live together in Peace, *&c.* this ſerved them, to diſſemble the true cauſe of their grief; and therefore they *made ſhew of being moved and offended only at the* tacit *toleration* permitted the *Calviniſts*; covering in this manner (ſays *Davila*) with a pious pretence under the vail of Religion, the intereſts of private paſſion. And having, by the arts and ſubtilty of *Diana* late Miſtreſs to *Hen.* 2. *gained to their party An Momorancy* Conſtable of *France*, (who, being at that time in the ſame danger with them and others of being called to refund the large donations which they had obtained of the two laſt Kings, and beſides had been very active in the former perſecutions againſt the Proteſtants, was with the leſs difficulty wrought upon, eſpecially in the abſence of his ſon, a ſober and prudent perſon, who diſſwaded him all he could) they enter into a league for the preſervation of the Catholick Religion,

1560. *Thu. l.* 26. *Dav. l.* 2.

156[illegible].

gion, and mutual defence of their ſeveral Eſtates. And when the Proteſtants, after ſome other Edicts and Decrees, partly indulging ſome kind of liberty to them, and partly reſtraining it, were permitted a publick *Diſputation at Poiſey*, (which was firſt propoſed by the Cardinal of *Lorain*, and as was thought, to hinder the Convention of a National Synod, which he knew would be little pleaſing to the Pope, but was much deſired in *France* by the moſt ſober and pious of both ſides, who were ſtudious of the peace and good of the Church) there was preſently *a * ſecret conſultation* held *by the Grandees of the Popiſh Faction of* France *with them of* Spain, King *Philip* being wonderfully moved at the news of that Conference: and *Arturius Deſiderius*, incited by the *Sorbon* Doctors, and as was believed by many, not without the privity of the Cardinal of *Lorain*, *haſtens to King* Philip *with a Supplication and Private Inſtructions*, Complaining of the increaſe of the Proteſtants, the remiſneſs of the King and his Counſellors in reſtraining them; and imploring his Aid; and committing to his Patronage the Honour, Lives, Fortunes and Eſtates of the French Nobility; with which he was intercepted in his journey at *Orleans*. Not long after, this *Theſis*, among others, is *ſet up to be diſputed* publickly, *That the Pope, as the ſole Vicar of Chriſt, and Monarch of the Church, hath All Chriſtian Princes ſubject to his Spiritual and Secular Power; and that he may turn out of their Kingdoms thoſe that are rebellious to his Commands.* Wherewith the King being acquainted, his Delegates were ſent to complain of it to the Parliament; which ordered the *Sorbon* Doctors to deprecate the offence, and to recant this errour brought in * by Pope *Boniface* 8. and ſince his death generally condemned. The *Guiſes* in the mean time *dreading a National Synod* ſo much deſired, as fearing that the Proteſtants would prevail in it, ſpared no endeavours to keep it off. To which end alſo, *Philip* of *Spain* ſollicited by the Pope, ſends over his Ambaſſadour, who with threats added to his intreaties daily importunes the Queen R. to Severities againſt the Sectaries. But becauſe *the Guiſes thought that* Navarre *would be a main obſtacle* to theſe endeavours to keep off the Synod,

Thu. l. 28.

v. Thu. in l. 36. a Conſpiracy between *Guiſe* and the King of *Spain, qua nulla audacior in regno memoratur*, which alſo was in agitation at this time, though not diſcovered till after *Guiſe* his death, *an.* 1564

* About the year 1300.

Synod, they *reſolve* with the Spaniſh Ambaſſador and the Popes Legate (who was admitted in *France*, but held ſtrictly to the conditions by the Laws appointed) *to ſet upon him*, a man though otherwiſe of parts, yet through indulgence to pleaſures and eaſe, grown facile and eaſie, to draw him to their party. To which end, having firſt corrupted ſome of his confidents, they firſt propoſe to him, to divorce his Queen for her hereſie, and marry their niece the Queen of *Scots*, with whom he ſhould have alſo the Kingdom of *England*, of which the Pope was about to deprive *Elizabeth* for her hereſie. But when this, by reaſon of his love to his Queen, a woman of great worth, and by whom he enjoyed a good eſtate (though they promiſed him the continuance of this by the Popes Authority notwithſtanding the divorce,) and to his children he had by her, would not take with him; they propoſe that the King of *Spain*, for ſatisfaction for his Kingdom of *Navarre* (which the *Spaniard* unjuſtly held from him,) ſhould give him the Iſle of *Sardinia*, which though a pitiful thing, they very much magnified, and promiſed the aſſiſtance of *Spains* Treaſures and Forces if he would deſert the *Lutherans*, whom by the means of his Queen he was brought to favour, and take upon him the Patronage of the Catholicks in *France*. By which abuſe (for it proved no other) they *prevailed upon him*, and ſo made up *the Triumvirate*, of *Navarre*, the Duke of *Guiſe*, and *Momorancy* the Conſtable, and layd the foundation of that Civil war, which ſhortly after enſued, and in the compaſs of about a year after put an end to his hopes and life alſo; when being wounded he became ſenſible *Thu. l.* 33. of his abuſe, and declared that if he recovered, he would embrace the Proteſtant Confeſſion of *Augsburg*, and live and die in it. About the ſame time or not long after, the Queen Regent and the Councel, upon the complaint of the Proteſtants of that little liberty, which was permitted *Thu. l.* 28. them by former Edicts, being abridged by or under pretence of the Late *Edict of Italy*, which they ſaid was ſurreptitiouſly obtained by a fraud in numbering the Votes, reſolve

upon another Aſſembly at S. *Germans*, where was made
1561. that famous and much Celebrated *Edict of January*, whereby
Thu. l.29. the Proteſtants are permitted to aſſemble at Sermons ſo it
'be out of any City; and the Magiſtrates commanded not
'to moleſt, but protect and defend them from all injury;
'and the Proteſtants that they ſhould hold no Synod or Con-
'ſiſtories, unleſs the Magiſtrate firſt called was preſent, their
'Paſtors ſhould engage to obſerve the Edict, to teach the
'people the pure word of God, and nothing contrary to
'the Nicene Councel, the Creed, and the books of the Old
'and New Teſtament, and that both ſides ſhould abſtain
'from all reproachful words, ſpeeches and books againſt one
'another: and when the Senate interceded againſt the pro-
mulgation of the Edict, a mandate was ſent out to them to
promulgate it without further delay, which being again and
again reiterated, they at laſt obeyed. The *Guiſes*, the Con-
ſtable and others of their party, in the mean time leaving
the Court, *contrive to hinder the Execution of it*, and oppoſe
the Hugonot Faction, as they call it, not doubting, (but
having, by the Arts aforeſaid gotten *Navarre* to their par-
ty) to obtain their deſires. And firſt they endeavour to
inſinuate into the Lutheran Princes of Germany, and if poſ-
ſible to engage them againſt the Proteſtants of *France* (who
in a point or two, wherein *Luther* and *Calvin* differed, in-
cline rather to *Calvins* opinion) or at leaſt to render them
more ſlack in affording them their aſſiſtance. Then after a
three days ſecret conſultation with the Duke of *Witenberg*
to this purpoſe at *Zabern*, to which they had invited
him, and an *out-ragious violence* committed in the way by
the Duke of *Guiſe* his company upon an Aſſembly of the
Proteſtants at *Vaſſy*, met to hear a Sermon, whereof ſixty
men and women, were by them ſlain, and above two
hundred more wounded, the Duke with a great retinue
ſpeedily repairs to Paris, in an inſolent manner, without
any reſpect to the King by the way, and *contrary to the
Queens expreſs will and pleaſure*; and not contented to go
the nearer way by S. *Martins*, he goes about with his at-
tendants,

tendants, being accompanied by the Conſtable, the Duke of *Aumale* his brother, and the Mareſhal of S. *Andre*, and *enters by S.* Denis *gate* (by which the Kings of *France* in Royal State are uſed to make their entrance to that Metropolis of the Kingdom,) being met by divers of the Magiſtrates of the City, with the acclamations of the Rabble, in ſuch ſort as is uſed by the people to their Kings. Hereupon the *Queen* after divers other inſolencies of this party, fearing that under pretext of aſſerting the Catholick Religion, they would uſurp the Supreme Power of the Kingdom, and get into their hands the King, her ſelf, and other Children, She *commends all, and the whole Kingdom to the Care of the Prince of Conde* the next Prince of the blood, and earneſtly and frequently importunes his aſſiſtance, to ſtop the proceeding of the Confederates. But they, who upon longer Conſultation had made ſufficient preparation for what they intended, eaſily prevented him: and having exaſperated the people with feigned rumours from all the Provinces of the Kingdom, of pretended injuries done to the Catholicks by the Proteſtants (an Artifice wherein the Cardinal of *Lorain*'s greateſt skill conſiſted,) the Duke draws out a party, and at *Fountain-bleau ſeiſeth upon the King*, whom with the Queen and Her other Children, they carry by force to *Paris*, the King weeping to ſee himſelf his mother and brothers carried as it were into Captivity. The *Queen* the ſame day they were ſeiſed, *renued her importunity to Conde*, deſiring him not to abate his courage or neglect his care for the preſervation of the Crown, or ſuffer their enemies to arrogate to themſelves the abſolute Power in the Government. The Confederates on the other ſide being come to *Paris* with the young King and the Queen (having in the morning, by a party led by the Conſtable, fired one of the places without the Gates where the Proteſtants aſſembled to Prayers and Sermons, and in the afternoon another, whereby alſo the neighbour buildings were conſumed, and permitted licence to

Dav. l. 3. *Thu. l.* 29.

the Rabble to abuſe and injure thoſe they ſuſpected for their Religion) held frequent Conſultations how beſt to Order their affairs for their own advantage. 'In which Counſels the Duke of *Guiſe* openly declared that he 'thought it moſt expedient to proceed to a War with 'the Hugonots, ſo to extinguiſh the fire, before it burſt 'out into a conſuming flame, and to take away the root 'of that growing evil. Thus was *the firſt Civil* War *begun*, the Confederates pretending the Authority of the King and Queen Regent, whom they had by force gotten into their power; and the Prince alledging the expreſs Authority of the Regent, and that the Orders ſent out in the Kings Name againſt him, were by the Confederates obtained by force and dures. This I have related the more largely, becauſe hitherto the Proteſtants had been onely paſſive, that, ſince now they had engaged in Action, as many of them did in this ſervice of the Prince, it may the better appear upon what grounds they did Act; which was not upon pretenſe of Religion, though no doubt that was a great motive to them, but for defence of the Laws, and for the Liberty of their Prince and Lawful Governour, and againſt thoſe who did aſpire not to the Regency onely, but to the Crown and Kingdom it ſelf, by a long train of policies and violent Cruelties. But this War was rather ſharp than long, which, beſides the ſlaughter of eight thouſand men in one battel at *Dreux*, beſides great bloodſhed and miſchief in many other places, was in ſhort time the deſtruction of two of the principal Authors of it, *Navarre* and * *Guiſe* being both ſlain; and the Conſtable the only ſurviving *Triumvir* being taken Priſoner, thereupon *an Accomodation* followed without difficulty, upon theſe Conditions among others; 'That all free Lords, not 'holding of any but the Crown, might 'within their Juriſdictions freely exerciſe the 'Reformed Religion; that the other Feuda-

'taries

* He was ſhot returning from the Camp to his Quarters by *Poltrot*, who being taken, upon his examination ſaid he was imployed by *Colinius* and exhorted to it by *Beza*; but being brought to the rack he utterly denyed it, and concerning *Beza* perſevered in his denyal to the laſt; but

'taries might do the ſame in their own hou-
'ſes, for their own families, provided they
'lived not in † any City or Town [where
'the Courts reſided]. That in every Pro-
'vince certain Cities ſhould be appointed, in
'the *Fauxburg* whereof the Proteſtants might
'Aſſemble at their Devotion. That in all
'other Cities and Towns, every one ſhould
'live free in his Conſcience without trouble
'or moleſtation. That all ſhould have full
'Pardon for all Delinquences committed du-
'ring, or by occaſion of the War; de-
'claring all to be done to a good end, with-
'out any offence to the Royal Majeſty, and
'all be reſtored to their places, *&c.* And
theſe and the reſt were ratified in Counſel
by an Edict of Pacification under the Kings
own hand and Seal, verified in Parliament
and Proclaimed by ſound of Trumpet, in
March 156$\frac{3}{4}$. which had they been honeſtly
and juſtly obſerved, might by Gods bleſſing,
have been a means of much peace and hap-
pineſs to that Kingdom; but we find the
contrary as to the Obſervance, and there-
fore no wonder if the contrary alſo to ſo
hopeful and happy conſequence and iſſue of
it. For no ſooner was this War concluded
upon this Edict of Pacification, ratified with all the for-
malities and ſolemnities uſed for the eſtabliſhing and con-
firming of Laws in *France*, but *the Edict* began preſently
to *be violated*, the Proteſtants in divers places, both di-
ſturbed in their Religious Aſſemblies, which this and other
Laws allowed them to hold, and injured in their Civil
Rights, and in divers manners frequently and grievouſly
oppreſſed, and that not onely *by concourſes and aſſaults of
the vulgar and Rabble*, who, having no pretence of Au-
thority, were many times with like force repulſed by the
others;

concerning *Colinius*, being brought to execution, and with the terrour of his approaching execution being beſides himſelf, he one while affirmed and another while denyed it. *Colinius* and *Beza*, calling God to witneſs, utterly denyed it, and *Colinius* wrote to the Queen, that before his execution, the buſineſs might be further examined; but he was in few days after executed. *Thuanus*, *lib.* 34. But was it really ſo, Who employed and exhorted *Parry*, not againſt a Commander of an Army, but againſt his Prince? who *Lopez?* who ſo many more againſt Queen *Elizabeth?* who *James Clement* to murther *Henry* the third of *France?* who *Jo. Chaſtel* to murther *Henry* the fourth? To mention no more.

† So *Davila*, but *Thuanus*, *lib.* 35. *modo ne in pagis aut municipiis habitent, quæ majori juriſdictioni, regia excepta, ſubſunt.*

Thu. l. 35, 36, 37, 39. others, but even by the Preſidents of the Provinces and other Magiſtrates, whoſe duty it was to have ſeen the Laws juſtly obſerved, but did the quite contrary, and that not only by connivance at the exorbitances of the vulgar, but alſo *by their own actual iniquity*, and (that no part or *Thu. l.* 37. kind of injuſtice might be wanting) both *by force and violence*, and alſo *by fraud*, *by breach of faith*, *by ſubornation of* *Thu. l.* 39. *witneſſes*, *by falſe calumniations*. By which means and ſuch like arts, together with the mediation of their potent friends at Court, *the paſſionate young King* being before *prejudiced* by the Arts of the *Guiſian* faction, eſpecially the Cardinal of *Lorain*, and further *incenſed by the Legate* of *Spain*, the Pope and *Savoy*, who, notwithſtanding the late Edict, urged him to baniſh and otherwiſe puniſh the Proteſtants, and revoke the Liberty granted by it to them, they eaſily obtained that *the Complaints of the Proteſtants*, which were dayly brought to the King, were anteverted, and either totally *rejected or eluded*, and *the perſons employed* to exhibit the ſame ordinarily ſo diſcountenanced and *diſcouraged*, that they were forced to return without any effect, if not *impriſoned*, and *for the greateſt violences and enormities*, even murther it ſelf (by which as ſome write not ſo few as three thouſand had periſhed ſince the Edict of pacification) could *obtain no remedy or redreſs*. And of all this many plain and notable *examples and proofs* might be *Lib.* 35, 36, 37, 39. produced out of our Noble Excellent Hiſtorian, were it not too long to do it. We might inſtance in that notable practice of the Biſhop of *Pamiers*, which gave the firſt occaſion of that very *tumult*, which that ſmooth Italian *Davila* mentions, and while he exaggerates the actions of the Proteſtants in it, with no little partiality conceals the firſt and true occaſion of it; but perhaps being a Courtier, he relates it and other ſuch paſſages, as they were then, by the Artifices and means above mentioned, repreſented at the Court. Nor was the Royal Authority abus'd to concur in this Iniquity and Injuſtice only by connivence and permiſſion of theſe things thus done by the Kings Miniſters and Officers

in

in fraud and violation of the Agreement of Peace and the Edict made in Confirmation of it, but alſo to give further occaſion and countenance to it by divers *fraudulent and eluſory Interpretations of the Edict.* By which means, whiles it ſeems, it was thought too groſs plainly and directly to revoke it, they did notwithſtanding indirectly elude its effect and the benefit expected by it: in ſuch ſort, that had the Proteſtants been of thoſe pernitious principles, that their adverſaries indeed were, and endeavoured to repreſent them to be, the moſt ſubtile and malitious enemies of that Kingdom could not have deviſed and promoted a more effectual means and method of its confuſion and ruine. And the truth is this was it, which the principal Authors and Fomenters of thoſe courſes, the *Guiſes* at home and the *Spaniards* abroad, aimed at, and by theſe means in concluſion to make themſelves Maſter of it. Which though at that time not ſo viſible to every one, yet was afterwards very apparent. The Pope alſo, becauſe *France* ſtood too much upon their Liberties and Priviledges, being a well wiſher to their deſigns, eſpecially of *Guiſe*, though not ſo much of *Spain*, as not deſiring ſo potent a Neighbour. But all theſe oppreſſions and Injuries though they provoked ſome little tumults of the vulgar, yet were they not ſufficient to produce and neceſſitate another Civil War, which not only the *Spaniard* deſired, as well for his own ſecurity to divert a War from himſelf, as in order to his further deſigns, but alſo the Cardinal of *Lorain*, his Nephews now growing up, though his brother the Duke was ſlain; and therefore beſides theſe, other means were thought on to do that at leaſt, if they ſhould fail to make way for their ends, by taking off thoſe who moſt ſtood in their way. And to this purpoſe, beſides *ſome leſſer Confederacies* for an irreconcilable war againſt the Proteſtants, there was *a Conſpiracy*, which was begun indeed *by the Duke of Guiſe* in his life time, but renued again and carried on by the ſame faction, *with the King of Spain*, for the cutting off of thoſe of the Nobility who favored the Proteſtant doctrine, and particularly for ſurpri-

ſing

ſing the Queen of *Navarre* and her Children, (the next heirs to the Crown of *France* after the familie of *Valois*,) who were all children and in their power already) and clapping them into the Spaniſh Inquiſition. But this being diſcovered by the Queen of *Spain* in receit to her mother the Queen mother of *France*, who eaſily perceived what was aimed at, and by others to the Queen of *Navarre*, and ſo prevented; the Legates of *Spain*, the Pope and *Savoy* were by the means of the Cardinal of *Lorain*, ſent to perſwade the King to admit the Councel of *Trent* in *France*, and to that end to invite him to a *Conſultation of the Catholick Princes at* Nancie *in* Lorain, to enter into a Holy League for the extirpation of the Hereticks, but the Queen mother neither liking the admiſſion of the Councel, nor to engage ſo openly againſt the Proteſtants, the Legates were under ſome other pretenſes diſmiſſed. Wherefore the next year, the King being declared out of his Minority, and with his Mother making a progreſs through all parts of the Kingdom, an Enterview between them and the Queen of *Spain* accompanied with the Duke of *Alva* is ſo ordered that *a more ſecret Conſultation* is held at *Bayonne* for the extirpation of the hereticks, and a Holy League made between the two Crowns for mutual aſſiſtance to that end, and ‘ *at laſt it is concluded according to the opinion of* Alva, ‘ *which he ſaid was the judgement of King* Philip, *to cut off* ‘ *the chief heads of the Proteſtants and then in imitation of* ‘ *the* * Sicilian *Veſpers to ſlaughter all the Proteſtants to the* ‘ *laſt man: and becauſe the intended Aſſembly at* Moulins ‘ *was already talked on, that it would be beſt to make a* ‘ *ſlaughter of the Nobility aſſembling there from all parts,* ‘ *and upon a ſign given to exterminate the reſt through out* ‘ *France.* This *Thuanus* relates from *Jo. Bapt. Hadrianus*, who he ſaith wrote his hiſtory with very great fidelity and prudence, and, as is very likely, extracted many things from the Commentaries of the Duke of *Tuſcany* [Father to the Queen Mother:] *But*, as he further relates, *either becauſe they did not all meet there, or that for ſome other cauſe it*

Jan. 1565. *Davila. l.* 3. *Thu. l.* 37.

* 30. *Mar.* 1282 When the *French* were all at an inſtant without diſtinction of age or ſex cruelly ſlaughtered; as were the *Danes* here in *England* 280. years before that.

it ſeemed unſeaſonable, that buſineſs was deferred to another time, and was ſeven years after, as was then continued, put in execution at Paris *at a more convenient place and occaſion. But from this time the Prince of* Conde *and the Colinies being admoniſhed, by their friends at Court of theſe bloody Counſels, and thereupon ſuſpitious of the Court deſigns, were more cautious and wary.* Yet was *Colinius* at the Aſſembly at *Moulins* in *January* following, and there by ſolemn Oath purged himſelf of the death of the Duke of *Guiſe*; and poſſibly might then make ſome further diſcovery into theſe ſecret counſels; which, if as is ſaid, they were at firſt deſigned to be put in execution there, ſeem by the ſucceeding Hiſtory to have been deferred for want of ſufficient Forces ready, and of fit inſtruments. For afterward, by the advice of *Alva*, 6000 *Swiſſers* were hired, and *levies of Souldiers* made in *Champain* and *Picardy*, *under pretence of guarding the Frontiers* againſt *Alva*. But this pretence quickly vaniſhed by *Alva*'s withdrawing from thoſe parts, (as it was afterwards more fully detected of fraud and colluſion, by his ſending them Forces in the War ſoon after following): nevertheleſs the *Swiſſers* were ſtill retained. *Thu. l.* 39. *Thu. l.* 41.

43. Whereupon, all very well knowing that there was a better accord between the Courts of *France* and *Spain*, eſpecially ſince the enterview at *Bayonne*, than that there needed any ſuch Guards, the Prince of *Conde*, *Colinius*, *Andelot* his Brother, and the reſt of *the Proteſtant Nobility and Gentry*, *began to be very ſenſible* of their near approaching danger of ruine; and, after a long patience under Slaughters, Baniſhments, Calumnies, loſs of their Eſtates and Fortunes, *to conſult* together what courſe might be taken for the ſafety and preſervation not only of their eſtates and liberties, but of the lives of themſelves, and their wives and children. They had ſeen and felt the Edicts made on their behalf, partly eluded by the interpretations of new Edicts and Proſcripts, partly violated by the malice and iniquity of Judges and Preſidents of the Provinces: injuries and miſchiefs every where done to them, and even the murthers of no ſmall number connived at, and permitted to go unpuniſhed. And beſides all this, they had *Thu. l.* 42.

certain intelligence of thoſe ſecret conſultations held for their deſtruction, and of other ſecret counſels held by Ambaſſadors with the Pope, who fomented the hatred of thoſe two Kings againſt them, and, beſides the ſpeeches and threats frequently given out that they were not like long to enjoy their Aſſemblies, they ſaw plainly that thoſe preparations, which (after the Cities which they inhabited were diſmantled, and Forts therein built, and Garriſons put into them) were at firſt made under ſuch pretext as was no way probable, and now continued without any at all, were deſigned againſt them; and were alſo informed thereof by intelligence from their friends,* and by letters intercepted from *Rome* and *Spain*. Notwithſtanding after a conſultation or two, it was reſolved by common conſent of all, to uſe all mild and gentle means; and therefore, ſince now there remained no further pretence to retain them, the Prince of *Conde*, by his friends, deſires that, ſince *Alva* is now retired into *Belgium*, the *Swiſſers* may be diſmiſſed. But when inſtead of being diſmiſſed, or retained only to guard the Frontiers, they found them daily march on nearer to the heart of the Kingdom, and had further notice from the Court of their deſigns, they at laſt aſſemble in great confuſion; and though every one ſaw the danger which hanged over their heads, and was now ready to involve them all, yet great queſtion there was how it ſhould be prevented: To complain, they by experience knew what effect of that might be expected: to Arm, though in ſo great occaſion of neceſſity and extremity, they eaſily foreſaw many inconveniences attending that. [They only unhappily not foreſaw the proper remedy by their great Maſter preſcribed in ſuch caſe, to fly, though it had been to the greater humanity of the uncivilized Indians: whereby they might perhaps better have conſulted their own ſafety, and alſo have promoted his ſervice in the propagation of his Truth and Goſpel.] But to Arm, beſides the miſchiefs of a Civil War, they thought that could not be without many calumnies and ſlanders caſt upon them by their adverſaries, as if they were the Authors of it, and undertook it againſt the King, to whom they did not ſo much as impute their former injuries and oppreſſions, or preſent

Swts, p. 768.

ſent dangers, but only to their adverſaries, who having at firſt by force gotten the King into their power, abuſed his immaturity and authority to ruine and deſtroy them: and although they ſhould take up Arms only againſt them, and meerly for the neceſſary defence of the lives and fortunes of themſelves, their wives, and children, and for the preſervation of the Kingdom, yet ſhould they not eſcape that imputation: and therefore they unanimouſly agreed *rather being innocent, after the example of their anceſtors, to bear what injuries ſhould be done them, than to offer any to thoſe who were indeed nocent; leſt by an ill defence of a good cauſe they ſhould deſert that Equity or Juſtice which had hitherto ſtood on their part*: till by the diſcourſe of *Andelot*, a perſon of great authority among the Peers, and beſides of known probity and virtue, they were perſwaded, that after ſo often breach of Faith by their adverſaries, there was no further truſt to be given to them; and for the calumnies and ſlanders which ſhould be caſt upon them, the iſſue of their ſo neceſſary undertakings, if it pleaſed God to bleſs them in ſo juſt a cauſe, would ſufficiently clear them. Upon which they changed their reſolutions, and *agreed to take up Arms* for their own defence; which accordingly they did, to the no little joy of the Cardinal of *Lorain*, that the buſineſs was brought to the neceſſity of a War, which, after ſeveral ineffectual treaties for an accommodation, ſhortly enſued. And theſe were the true cauſes and occaſions of *the ſecond Civil War*; which after many Noblemen and Gentlemen of both ſides ſlain at the Battel of St. *Denis*, and among them the Conſtable, (the laſt of the Triumvirate, and a principal Author of the late oppreſſions, at leaſt by protecting the actors in them from Juſtice) and ſome other acts of Hoſtility was about ſix moneths after it began, by a fraudulent peace rather intermitted than concluded: for about ſix moneths after it broke out again, upon the like cauſes and occaſions.

Cardinali Lotaringus *rem ad belli neceſſitatem deductam gaudens*, ſays *Thuanus*; and a little before ſpeaking of him. *Turbas conſiliis ſuis opportunas exiſtimans.*

44. In the mean time, that we may note it by the way, *Philip* King of *Spain*, a principal promoter and inventer of thoſe oppreſſions and troubles to his neighbours, eſcaped not *a remarkable judgment of God upon him*: for at this ſame time, *his eldeſt, and then only ſon*, Prince *Charles*, deſigned to kill *Thu. l.* 43.

him; or at leaſt he thought ſo; or however ſuſpecting that he favoured the Proteſtants in the Low-Countreys, or for ſome other reaſon, pretended ſo; and therefore cauſed him to be taken out of his bed in the night, and committed to cuſtody. Whereupon the young Prince falling diſtracted, and often attempting to kill himſelf, he was, at laſt, by *Philip* his Fathers own command, having firſt conſulted with the Inquiſition, poyſoned. Few months after, *his Queen*, whom he had employed in thoſe bloudy conſultations at the enterview at *Bayonne*, died great with child, and not without ſuſpition of poiſon by his own means, being, as was thought, jealous and ſuſpitious of her too much familiarity with his own ſon, whom he had not long before thus murthered. And in her, who was the eldeſt daughter of *Hen.*2. of *France*, married at the time of his death, as hath been ſaid, and in this late conſultation in *France* proſecuting his cruelties, and ſo by her own act contracting a participation of his guilt, we may take notice of the divine vengeance purſuing his poſterity. Nor was this divine vengeance upon King *Philip* thus remarkable only in thoſe his *domeſtick troubles*, but alſo in the *Civil Commotions* both in the *Low-Countreys*, which by his bloudy conſultations with the Inquiſition (the juſt judgment of God giving him up to be infatuated by them and the Jeſuites) and the the cruelties of *Alva*, the ſame inſtrument whom he had employed to raiſe thoſe troubles in *France*, and now made Governor of the Low-Countreys, produced there; when he thought all things ſo ſafe and ſecure, as that he might be at leiſure to aſſiſt in the troubles which he had raiſed in *France*: and beſides theſe (which as they at preſent afflicted him, ſo afterward produced his loſs of a great part of thoſe Countreys) in thoſe Commotions *even in* Spain *it ſelf*, by the Moors in *Granada*, which for two years during thoſe wars which he had cauſed in *France*, made him feel the ſmart at home of ſuch commotions and troubles as he had procured to others abroad. And by theſe means, as on the one ſide his pernitious counſels were juſtly puniſhed, ſo on the other was he diverted from proſecuting the ſame, by ſending thoſe Forces againſt the Proteſtants in *France*, which otherwiſe he had undoubtedly

Thu. l. 43.

doubtedly done. And to theſe might be added his loſs of *Goletta* in *Africa*, (*an.* 1574.) and with it the Kingdom of *Tunis*, (which concerned him in point of ſafety and ſecurity for navigation, as well as of reputation,) but that ſome few years intervene. *Thu. l.* 58.

45. But to return to *France*, *the War*, after ſix months intermiſſion, upon the like cauſes and occaſions, breaking out again, like diſeaſes upon a relapſe, was both more violent, and of longer continuance. Yet the counſels of the Queen-mother prevailing, who according to the genius and mode of her Country, ſought all along rather by her Italian arts and ſurprizes to compaſs her ends, than by the hazard of a Civil War, which *Spain* and the *Guiſes* moſt deſired, as beſt accommodate to their deſigns, it was within the compaſs of two years *brought to concluſion*, upon ſuch *conditions* granted to the Proteſtants, as were ſo much more fair and reaſonable, by how much with greater fraud and deep deſign to enſnare them, they were granted; and yet ſo qualified and limited, as not to give cauſe of ſuſpition by too great indulgence. And now *the King* was grown up to a capacity of deriving upon himſelf his Fathers guilt, and the guilt of all thoſe murthers and cruelties acted indeed under his authority, but yet in his minority, by his own actual and voluntary management of affairs for the future; whereunto he was in no mean degree diſpoſed both by *his* natural temper and diſpoſition, and by his education: by *nature* beyond meaſure cholerick, ſays *Davila*, and yet had from his Mother derived ſo great a ſhare of the Italian genius of deep and ſubtil diſſimulation, as did moſt notably qualifie him for the moſt effectual execution of malice and revenge. Nor was his *Education* leſs accommodate thereunto, having from his childhood been inured to the effuſion of his peoples blood; for which purpoſe, as was ſaid, it was that he and his brothers, while yet children, were by the Duke of *Guiſe* cauſed to be ſpectators of the ſlaughters at *Amboiſe*, where the River was covered with the dead bodies, and the ſtreets with the bloud of thoſe who by precipitate condemnations without due proceſs of Law, were executed and ſlaughtered, and the whole Town turned into *Thu. l.* 47. *Thu. l.* 24.

into a kind of grove of Gallowſes and Gibbets, with people hanged on them: he was arrived to the age of twenty years and upwards in the midſt of Tumults, Oppreſſions, and Civil Wars; had imbibed as great a a prejudice againſt the Proteſtants, as all the arts and calumnies of the Cardinal of *Lorain* and that Faction could infuſe into him; and that incenſed by the fouleſt miſ-repreſentations of the late actions of the Proteſtants that could be deviſed, and by his Mother was inſtructed in all the Italian arts of Government and Policy; *Optimis a matre ad bene recteq; regnandum monitis inſtructus*, ſays he of himſelf. Being thus qualified for it, he now of himſelf *undertakes the execution of the concluſions at* Bayonne; and reſolving to proſecute the ſame, not after the *Guiſian* and *Spaniſh* methods by the continuance of the Civil War, but by the more ſubtil and ſafe Italian method of his Mother, *his firſt buſineſs is to beget in the Proteſtants* an opinion and hope, that ſince he was now grown up to take the reins of Government into his own hands, they might henceforth expect to find more reaſonable and moderate uſage under his Government, than they had received from them who had abuſed his tender years to injure and oppreſs them; and to raiſe in them *a confidence and aſſurance* of his favourable diſpoſition towards them. And therefore, having granted them as fair conditions of Peace, as without danger of ſuſpition of his too great favour he could, he ſpeedily takes order for the effectual reſtraining and repreſſing of the injuries and oppreſſions which were preſently after the peace concluded begun again againſt the Proteſtants, and gives them leave to call and hold Synods: (by which means, had he dealt ſincerely, and proceeded ſoberly and ſteadily therein, he might certainly much better have ſecured the peace and happineſs of his Kingdoms to himſelf and his ſucceſſors, than he did by thoſe contrary, crafty, and violent courſes which he followed) with the chief of the Proteſtant Princes and Nobility he deals more particularly. He had even at the treaty of Peace cauſed ſome ſpeeches to be given out, as if upon the concluſion of that Peace at home, he intended a War in the Low-Countreys againſt the Spaniard, which could not but have been

Thu. l. 50.

Thu. l. 47. 50.

Thu. l. 50. 51.

Thu. l. 47.

been for the benefit and advantage of the Proteſtants there: And ſhortly after upon another occaſion cauſes the like ſpeeches to be repeated again, and a motion by the by to be made in ſecret of a Marriage between the Lady *Margaret* his Siſter and *Henry* Prince of *Navar*. Of both which there is again a propoſition made by ſome Proteſtant Gentlemen ſent by the King to *Navar* and *Colinius* for that purpoſe, and to aſſure them of the Kings extraordinary good will towards them, and to invite them to come to Court, which the King alſo by letters and other ſpecial meſſengers earneſtly ſollicited. And to create a further confidence and aſſurance in them and the reſt of the Proteſtant Nobility of his ſincerity, he cauſes an overture of a Marriage to be made to Queen *Elizabeth* of *England*, between her and his brother the Duke of *Anjou*, and moreover enters into a League with her, and at the ſame time alſo with the Proteſtant Princes of *Germany* againſt the Spaniard. And having by theſe arts at laſt prevailed with *Navar* and *Colinius* to come to Court; with the Prince he proceeds in the treaty of Marriage; and *Colinius* is received with all the expreſſions of favour and kindneſs imaginable: he conſults with him how to carry on the *Belgick* War, gives him leave to raiſe what Forces he will in the frontiers in order to it; and in ſo great favour is *Colinius* received at Court by the King, his Mother, and Brothers, that the *Guiſes* forſooth are ſo offended at it, as thereupon to leave the Court. In ſum, ſuch were the arts and deep diſſimulation which were uſed, as effectually deceived this prudent perſon, and a great part of the Nobility; and ſuch was the King's care of ſecrecy, and to whom his deſigns were imparted, that as ſoon as he perceived that *Ligneroles* (who yet was his brother the Duke of *Anjou*'s confident) was but acquainted with the deſign, he preſently cauſed him to be murthered. The management of this firſt buſineſs having ſucceeded according to the King's mind, *the next thing* to be conſidered, is the manner *how to accompliſh the deſign*. And of this he holds *a conſultation* with the Queen his Mother, his brother *Henry* Duke of *Anjou*, (who was afterward *Henry* 3.) the Cardinal of *Lorain*, *Claud* his Brother Duke of *Aumale*, *Henry* the young Duke

Thu. l. 50.

Thu. l. 50. 51.

Thu. l. 51.

Duke of *Guiſe*, and *Ren. Birage* Vice-Chancellor, and ſom others. This done away, goes the Cardinal to *Rome*, to treat with the Pope about theſe ſecret Counſels; and to manage the preſent affairs with more ſecrecy, he goes ſeemingly as diſcontented at the Court of *France*. At laſt the Marriage concluded, and the Pope's diſpenſation obtained, the time of ſolemnity is appointed; whereunto, beſides the principal Nobility of the Proteſtant Religion in *France*, from *England* is invited the Earl of *Leiceſter* and the Lord *Burleigh*, and out of *Germany* the Prince Elector Palatine's Sons, that if it were poſſible they might at once cut off all the heads of the Proteſtant Religion. For now in concluſion is put in execution that horrible *Maſſacre*, which for the matter was as long ſince as the enterview at *Bayonne* reſolved on, though for the manner and method of execution not till of late fully concluded. And firſt they begin with *the Queen of Navar*, who being a woman and a Queen, they thought fitteſt to take her away by poiſon, and that ſo prepared and adminiſtred by the perfume of a pair of gloves, as to work only upon her brain, and put her into a fevor, and therefore her body being diſſected in open view, but her head under colour of reſpect untouched, it was divulged, that by the teſtimony of skilful Phyſitians ſhe died of a fevor, as *Davila* relates the ſtory. The next to be made ſure of in particular was that brave perſon *Colinius*, a man who, though through neceſſity ingaged in them, yet detected, out of an innate hatred of ſuch broils, the late Civil Wars even to his own ruine and deſtruction at laſt, as *Thuanus* upon ſeveral occaſions often notes, and as real a well-wiſher of his King and Countreys good as any Subject in *France*, as appeared more fully in ſome inſtances diſcovered after his death. But the King and Queen-mother by the arts of the *Guiſian* Faction being prepoſſeſſed of a contrary opinion of him, after all their fraudulent expreſſions of favour to him, cauſed him to be ſhot by a retainer of the *Guiſian* Family, to ſecure themſelves from the imputation of ſo odious a fact; but being thereby only maimed, not killed out-right, they preſently according to their former diſſimulations, repair to his lodgings to viſit him, and

Thu. l. 51.
Da. p. 361.
Ambd. an. 572.
Da. p. 363.
Thu. l. 51.
Da. p. 367.
Thu. l. 52.

and with great ſhew of ſorrow for the accident, appoint him Phyſitians and Chirurgeons, and a guard for his defence, and order a ſtrict ſearch for the apprehenſion of the aſſaſine. This done upon the eve of St. *Bartholomew* being Sunday, the Duke of Guiſe by order from the King, having about twilight given direction to the Provoſt des Marchand (the chief head of the people of Paris) to provide 2000 armed men, with every one a white ſleeve on their left arm, and white croſſes in their hats, to be ready upon notice inſtantly to execute the Kings commands, and that the Sheriffs of the ſeveral Wards ſhould alſo be ready, and cauſe lights, upon the ringing of the bell of the Palace-clock, to be ſet up in every window; himſelf at the hour prefixed, with the Duke of Aumale, and Monſieur d'Angouleſme the King's baſtard-Brother, and other Commanders and Souldiers to the number of 300, went to *the Admiral Colinius his houſe*, and having forcibly entred the Court-gate kept by a few of the King of Navar's Halbardiers and the ſervants of the houſe, who were all killed without mercy, they likewiſe kill the Admiral himſelf, (and threw his body out of the window), Felinius his ſon-in-law, with other perſons of quality, and all the reſt that had relation to him. This done, Monſieur d'O, Colonel of the King's Guards calls out the principal Proteſtants that were in *the Louvre* one by one, who being come into the Court, were all killed by the Souldiers, that ſtood in two long ranks with their arms ready for that purpoſe: there died divers Noblemen and perſons of great quality, and others to the number of 200. At the ſame time *the bell gave the ſign*, and thoſe who were prepared for the deed, having received order what to do, fell a killing the Proteſtants throughout all the lodgings and houſes where they were diſperſed, and made an infinite ſlaughter of them without any diſtinction of age, ſex or condition, and of many of the Papiſts among the reſt. And *thoſe who fled* were purſued by the Duke of Guiſe with a great many horſe and foot, and being overtaken, ſome without ſhooes, ſome without ſaddles, ſome without bridles, but all more or leſs unprovided, were ſcattered and cut off. There were *killed in the City* that day

Dan. 371, 372.

and the next above 10000, whereof above 500 were Barons, Knights and Gentlemen, who had held the chiefeſt employments in the War, and were now purpoſely met together from all parts to honor the King of Navar's Marriage. A ſad time it was; what through the noiſe and clatter of thoſe who every where ran to killing and carrying away of their prey, and the doleful groans and ſad cryes of thoſe who were ſlain and murthered without mercy, young and old, rich and poor, men and women, women great with child, and others with their little children ſucking at their breaſts, and in the dead time of the night plucked out of their beds and houſes; what with the horrid ſpectacle of dead bodies thrown out of the windows, and trod about the ſtreets, and the channels running down with ſtreams of bloud into the River. And yet ſo little moved were the Court Ladies with all this, that without either fear or ſhame, in an impudent manner they beheld and ſtood gazing upon the naked bodies of the Noblemen and Gentlemen which lay on heaps before the Court. The day after the Admirals death, the Duke of *Anjou* with the Regiment of the Guards went through all the City and Suburbs, cauſing thoſe houſes to be broken open that made any reſiſtance; but all the Proteſtants were either already dead, or elſe being terrified, had put white croſſes in their hats, (the general mark of the Papiſts) endeavouring by that means, and by hiding themſelves to ſave their lives; but being pointed at in the ſtreets by any one, or diſcovered any other way, they were without mercy torn in pieces by the people, and caſt into the River. The day before this terrible execution, the King *diſpatched Poſts into divers parts of the Kingdom*, commanding the Governors of Cities and Provinces to do the like. And the ſame night at Meaux, and the days enſuing at Orleans, Rouen, Bourges, Angiers, Tholouze, and many other places, but above all at Lyons, there was a moſt bloudy ſlaughter of the Proteſtants, without any reſpect of age, ſex, or quality of perſons. Moſt ſad and lamentable ſtories, ſays Davila, might be here related; for this cruelty was proſecuted in ſo many ſeveral places, with ſuch variety of accidents, againſt people of all conditions, as it was credibly repor-

Thu. l. 52.

Da. 375.

reported that there were ſlain above forty thouſand Proteſtants in few days. The King himſelf, as * Cicarela relates, told the Pope's Nuncio that ſeventy thouſand and more were ſlain. Some days after the King diſpatched his Grand Provoſt with all diligence to ſeize upon Colinius his Wife and Children; but his eldeſt Son, with the widow-Lady his Mother-in-law, and others being already fled ſecretly to Geneva, the younger children both male and female were condemned to death in their tender years. About two days after the Maſſacre was finiſhed at Paris, a Jubilee was there appointed, and a publick Thankſgiving kept by the King, the whole Court, and a great confluence of the people, for the buſineſs ſo happily managed according to their wiſh and deſire. In memory whereof St. Bartholomew's day was by a decree of the Parliament of Paris appointed to be obſerved as an Anniverſary Thankſgiving-day.

* *In vita Greg.* 13.

Thu. l. 51. 53.

46. This horrible act of moſt barbarous and inhumane cruelty is highly *extolled by the Italian Writers*, as a good and laudable deed, and the politick contrivance of it as moſt worthy the ſubtil wit of a magnanimous Prince. And certain it is, that the news of its being effected was received at Rome with triumphant joy *by the* new *Pope* and his Cardinals, but *how far* his predeceſſors were *concerned in the contrivance and promotion of it*, in regard of the great ſecrecy wherewith all was managed, would be very difficult fully to diſcover, as to all the particulars and circumſtances, yet that they had a great hand in it, is evident enough in many paſſages of the ſtory. For when after the firſt Civil War, the King, inſtructed by the Queen-Mother, had diſmiſſed the Ambaſſadors ſent in the joynt names of the King of Spain, the Pope and the Duke of Savoy, with thanks to their Maſters for their wholſom counſel, and proffers of Forces and Aid, to expel and extirpate Hereſy out of his Dominions; aſſuring them that he would live according to the rites of the Church of Rome, and take care that all his people do the like, and that he had concluded the peace to that end, to expel his enemies out of his Kingdom; and promiſing by Miniſters of his own to acquaint the Pope and other Princes particularly with

Thu. l. 36. *Da. p.* 189.

his reſolutions; they reſolved under pretence of a Progreſs,
Da. f. 190. among other things, to come to a Parly with the Duke of Savoy in Dolphine, with the Pope's Miniſters at Avignon, and with the King of Spain or the Queen his Wife upon the Confines of Guienna, that ſo they might communicate their Counſels to them without the hazard of truſting French-men, who either through dependence or kindred, might be moved to reveal them to the Proteſtants. And having ſufficiently informed and fully ſatisfied Savoy with their intentions and
Da. p. 194. way, deſigned to free themſelves without noiſe or danger from the trouble of the Proteſtants; *at Avignon they confer with* Ludovico Antinori *one of the Pope's truſty Miniſters*, and a Florentine, being according to the Queens deſire come thither, and give that Anſwer to the Pope's Embaſſy which they would not truſt to the Ambaſſadors, concerning their purpoſe to extirpate Calviniſm by ſecret ſtratagems, without the danger or tumult of new wars. And here no doubt was
Thu. 36. ſome matters of no ſmall moment tranſacted, for the King having gone by Arles and Aix as far as Marſeilles, returned again to Avignon immediately under the Pope's Juriſdiction. But what-ever they were in particular, ſo well it ſeems was the Pope pleaſed with the means and method reſolved upon
Da. p. 194. for the extirpation of Calviniſm, that in order thereunto he conſented that the Publication of the Council of Trent in France ſhould be deferred till ſuch time as they had brought their deſigns to maturity. And probably for the ſame purpoſe, by the mediation of the King and Queen-Mother, deſiſted from his Excommunication of the Queen of Navar, which by his Monitory he had threatned againſt her. And at his inſtance was the next year held that Conſultation at
Thu. l. 37. *p.* 74. Bayonne before mentioned, at which he deſired that the King of Spain himſelf ſhould have been preſent, to whom it is not to be doubted but he ſent his advice concerning what was there to be reſolved. But this Pope dying ſoon after, his ſucceſſor *Pius* 5. being as yet unacquainted with the myſtery of
Da. p. 210. them, began preſently to be offended with the proceedings in France, till he was better informed of all thoſe reaſons which Ludovico Antenori had repreſented to his predeceſſor, with which

which he remained fully content and ſatisfied, ſays *Davila*. The Queen alſo acquainted him with her Counſels, not only by Cardinal Sancta Crux, four years before they were executed at Paris, by him deſiring the Pope's confirmation, but alſo by letters under her own hand, as Capilupus teſtifies, who ſaith that he had ſeen the very letters themſelves. Nor was he only privy to theſe Counſels of the King and Queen-Mother, but likewiſe communicated his counſel and advice in the ſame buſineſs to them. *He ſent to the King of France and his Miniſters moſt excellent inſtructions for the rooting out of thoſe Hereticks out of that Kingdom*, ſays Cicarella, but tells us not what they were, yet that is not hard to gueſs at from the conſideration of his nature and actions, (as hath been mentioned before) as well diſpoſed to promote cruel and bloudy deſigns as could be. And when thoſe Civil Wars, which for the ſpace of three years interrupted the courſe of thoſe Italian policies and ſtratagems, broke out, he ordered them alſo the aſſiſtance of his Forces. But when the War was concluded, and the King with his Mother and Cabinet-Council, had reſolved to make a Marriage between the young Prince of Navar, being now grown up, and the King's Siſter, to be the train to draw the Proteſtant party into that ſnare which had been ſo long before deviſed, the Pope not yet acquainted with this circumſtance, (for though the thing which was to be done had been long reſolved on, yet the method and manner how to bring it about, was often altered, as accidents and occaſions did intervene) when he heard of the treaty of the Marriage, but had not notice of the myſtery of it, and moreover heard of the preparations for a War againſt Spain, he began to be ſuſpitious that the King had forgotten his former kindneſs and excellent inſtructions, and therefore ordered his Nephew Cardinal Alexandrino in his return from Spain, to debate the buſineſs with him. Whereupon the King aſſured him that he did all this to obey the inſtructions of P. Pius. But P. Pius lived not to receive this ſatisfaction, or not long after, not to ſee that joyful day which his ſucceſſor *Greg.* 13. did, and kept with great joy and ſolemnity for the wiſhed ſucceſs of theſe Counſels. For the promoting where-

Thu. l. 53.

Cicarel. in vita Pii, 5.

Catena in vita Pii, 5.

of,

of, being perſwaded by the Cardinal of Lorain, (and told that this Marriage was intended as a trap to deſtroy the Prince of Navar and his Proteſtant party) he preſently *gave his diſpenſation* for the celebrating of it, and encouraged the deſign: which was as much as he could do at preſent, things being already ripe for execution. But having received an account of the Maſſacre by letters from his Legate at Paris, he *read his Letters in the Conſiſtory* of Cardinals, where preſently it was decreed that they ſhould all go directly thence to St. Marks, and there ſolemnly give thanks to Almighty God for ſo great a bleſſing conferred upon the Roman See and the Chriſtian world; and that the Monday following *a publick Thankſgiving* ſhould be celebrated in the Church of Minerva, and that the Pope and Cardinals ſhould be at it; and thereupon *a Jubilee* ſhould be *publiſhed* throughout all the whole Chriſtian World, and among other cauſes thereof expreſſed, this was the firſt, To give thanks to God for the deſtruction in France of the enemies of the Truth, and of the the Church. Toward the evening *the Guns* were *fired* at St. Angelo, Bonefires every where made, and nothing omitted of thoſe things which uſed to be done upon the greateſt victories for the Church of Rome. Two daies after there was a *Proceſſion to St. Lewis*, with very great reſort of the Nobility and people; the Biſhops and Cardinals going before; then the Switzers; then the Embaſſadors of Kings and Princes; then under a Canopy the Pope himſelf, a Deacon Cardinal on either ſide him, and the Emperors Ambaſſador bearing up his train, and a troop of Knights and Gentlemen following. Being come to the Church, which was adorned with more than ordinary magnificence, Maſs was ſaid by the Cardinal of Lorain, (who for the incredible joy which he conceived for the ſo much deſired news, had ordered a thouſand * Franks to be given to the Meſſenger, who was a Gentleman ſent by his Brother the Duke of Aumale). Upon the Church-doors was ſet *an Inſcription*, in which the Cardinal of Lorain, in the name of the King of France, did congratulate the Pope and the Colledge of Cardinals the moſt wonderful effects and incredible iſſue of their Counſels and Aſſiſtances.

Dis. p. 361: Anſwer to *Philanax p.* 100.

Ton. l. 53.

In Minervæ æde.

In Hadriani mole.

Auctor.

This

This done, *Cardinal Ursin* is appointed to go *Legate* into France, who ſpeedily took his journey, and being come as far as Lions, (where, next to Paris, was the moſt bloudy ſlaughter) he began to *extol* with many commendations, *the Faith of the Citizens*; and *publickly praiſed Boidon*, a moſt vile, wicked fellow, who afterward came to a death worthy of his wicked life, being executed at Clermont; but now was the ring-leader and principal promoter of the barbarous and horrid ſlaughters and murthers committed at Lions; and upon him he alſo, out of the plenitude of his (legatine) power conferred ſome of the Pope's favours and graces. And although by the King's Miniſters (who were now much otherwiſe affected with the ſenſe of the barbarous ſlaughters of their Country-men, than was the Pope and his Miniſters) he was admoniſhed to be very ſober and ſparing in his ſpeech of the Maſſacre, yet could he not hold, but everywhere, both in private conference and in publick, *to commend the King's prudence and magnanimity* in that buſineſs: and ſo full was he of it, that being come to Paris, and endeavouring to perſwade the King to the admiſſion of the Council of Trent in France, he urged it with this as a moſt weighty argument, *That the memory of the late fact, which is to be commended to all ages, as conducing to the glory of God, and the dignity of the holy Roman Church, might be as it were ſealed by the approbation of the holy Synod. For ſo would it be manifeſt to all, who now are, or hereafter ſhall be, that the King conſented to the deſtruction of ſo many lives, not out of hatred or revenge, or ſenſe of any private injury of his own, but out of an ardent deſire to propagate the glory of God. That what could not be expected whilſt the faction of the Proteſtants ſtood, now they being taken away, the Catholick Apoſtolick Roman Religion, which by the Synod of Trent is cleared and defended from the tenome of the Sectaries, might be eſtabliſh'd beyond controverſie, and without exception, through all the Provinces of the French Dominion.* But the King had no mind to admit the Council, much leſs to make that an occaſion to perpetuate the memory of that fact which he was already contriving how to excuſe. And therefore was the Legate diſmiſſed without any effect as to

Thu. l. 54.

Etiam ei potestatis plenitudine gratiæ beneficium impertinit.

to that particular, to the Pope's no great ſatisfaction; yet he ſolaced himſelf with atchievement of the Maſſacre, which, becauſe it had happened in the beginning of his Papacy, he reckoned a moſt proſperous omen, and among his greateſt felicities. And to increaſe his comfort, the head of Colinius was ſent him to Rome for a preſent.

Thu. l. 52. *Sere. p.* 794.

47. But alas, *in France*, all men generally, and the King himſelf had *already far other thoughts of that Tragedy*; and the Legate found a far other face of things there at his coming, than he expected, and had left at Rome: for the King now more ſenſible of the foulneſs and odiouſneſs of the fact, when done, (as is uſual in ſuch caſes, the heinouſneſs of ſin ſeldom appearing to wicked minds till actually committed) was in great perplexity whether to own it or not, and how to excuſe it. And therefore it was long debated at Court, whether to admit the Legate at all, or by ſome handſome excuſes to put him off without audience, though out of reſpect to the Pope, and to the perſon of the Legate, thought well affected to the intereſt of France, it was at laſt permitted, but not without ſuch caution and admonition to him as hath been mentioned. For this unhappy King had no ſooner accompliſhed theſe deep deſigns, from which he promiſed himſelf ſo great ſecurity, content and happineſs, but he found himſelf ſurprized and involved in inextricable difficulties, perplexity and miſery. And beſides the daily ſecret *horrors of his mind and conſcience*, which appeared in their nocturnal effects and productions, diſturbing and interrupting his ſleep with *direful and frightful dreams*, which drove him to the uſe of Saul's remedy, by Muſick to refreſh and quiet his diſturbed ſpirits, that anxiety which aroſe in his mind after the fact committed, from his *fears and doubts of what might be the ill conſequence* of it, was now no leſs than his hopes had been before of that happineſs and tranquility which he had promiſed himſelf that he ſhould obtain by it. For though he had before promiſed himſelf great ſecurity by the deſtruction of the heads, and ſlaughter of ſo great a party of the Proteſtants, yet having done the deed, that *deſperation into which he apprehended his perfidious cruelty had driven thoſe who remained,*

Thu. l. 54.

Thu. l. 57.

1 *Sam.* 16.

mained, and by the articles of the laſt agreement of Peace held Rochel and other ſtrong places in their poſſeſſion, rendred them not a little formidable to him, and perplexed his mind with doubts and fears of new troubles from ſo juſt and great provocation. Theſe *cares* of what might be the conſequence of this action at home, were increaſed and aggravated by his apprehenſion *of what effects ſo barbarous an act* (which is reported to have filled with ſtupor and amazement, the Great Turk himſelf at the hearing of it) *might produce in his neighbours abroad*, leſt they thereby might be moved out of commiſeration to ſend their aid and relief to his ſo injuriouſly oppreſſed ſubjects. Wherefore *all ways and means* were *ſtudied and deviſed to give ſome ſatisfaction* to the Proteſtants at home by treaties and favourable Edicts, (though his former often and foul breaches of his Faith made this very difficult) and to excuſe the foulneſs of the late fact both to them and to the Princes and States abroad. It had been conſidered before-hand, out of that ſenſe and pre-apprehenſion they had of the wickedneſs and foulneſs of the deſign, how to caſt the imputation of it upon the Guiſes, who alſo out of the ſame ſenſe and pre-apprehenſion endeavoured all they could to avoid the odium of it. And being done, the King immediately, whether affrighted and terrified, ſays Thuanus, with the atrocity of the fact, or fearing the odium of it, diſpatched his *Letters* to the Preſidents of the Provinces, *to lay all the blame upon the Guiſes*, alledging that it was done without his privity or conſent; that they, fearing that the friends and relations of Colinius would revenge the injury done to him upon them, had raiſed the tumult, which he was not able to repreſs in time; with a great deal to this purpoſe. And to the ſame purpoſe were Letters written by the Queen, and ſent not only through France, but alſo to the Helvetians, and diſperſed through England, and in divers parts of Germany. But as it uſually happens upon the perpetration of ſuch horrid crimes and wickedneſs, that the authors of them diſtracted with the horrors of their guilty conſcience, when they find no ſatisfaction or aſſurance of ſecurity in any courſe they take to conceal or palliate their crime, continually deviſe and attempt new ways and means,

Thu. l. 53.

Thu. l. 52.

and by their often change and inconſtancy to any, propoſe that diſcovery which they ſeek to evade; ſo it happened in this caſe. For as theſe Letters were diſproved by his expreſs commands, which, as *Davila* relates, he had but few daies before ſent out; ſo doth he now again in few days after contract the ſame, and in full Senate *declares that all was done by his own will and command*, and orders ſo much to be entred of record in the publick acts of the Court. And though to the Pope and Spaniard he owned that he did it upon the ſcore of Religion, yet knowing that with others, this would not ſo much excuſe as aggravate and increaſe the odium of it, ſome other cauſe was to be deviſed and pretended. And therefore firſt to extenuate the fact, he pretends that his commands extended only to the cutting off of Colinius and his Confederates, which thing being once undertaken, the tumult at Paris proceeded further than he intended, or was able, ſo ſoon as he deſired, to reſtrain; and that other Cities taking example from thence, did the like without his licenſe, and to his great grief and trouble: and then for the cauſe *pretends a Conſpiracy* againſt himſelf, his Mother and Brothers, and Navar himſelf, and to make Conde King, and afterwards to kill him alſo, and ſet up Colinius. And though the cauſes pretended againſt Colinius, in the judgment of the moſt prudent men, who were not at all addicted to the Proteſtant party, ſays Thuanus, had not ſo much colour of truth as will perſwade even children to believe them, much leſs any ſufficient proof; yet to put ſome colour upon the buſineſs, *a Trial* was *ordered* to be had in form of Law; and two days after *a Jubilee* (as hath been ſaid) was *appointed*, and *an Edict publiſhed*, wherein the King declares, that what had happened was done by his expreſs command, but not out of hatred to the (Proteſtant) Religion, or to derogate from the Edicts of Pacification, which he ſtill deſired ſhould be inviolably and religiouſly obſerved; but to prevent the Conſpiracy of Colinius and his Confederates, &c. and *Letters to* like purpoſe were ſent *to the Preſidents* of the Provinces, declaring, as was pretended, the TRUE cauſes of the tumult, and commanding them to treat the Proteſtants in all friendly manner, &c. And that nothing might be wanting, ſays Thuanus, to the height

Cicarel. in vita Greg. 13. Thu. l. 53.

Ib. l. 54.

Thu. l. 53.

height of madneſs, that they might ſeem to glory and triumph in ſo deteſtable an enterpriſe, in emulation of the ancient Emperors, *Medals* were *coyned* with the Inſcriptions, VIRTUS IN REBELLEIS & PIETAS EXCITAVIT JUSTITIAM. Divers other ſuch like arts were uſed to put a face upon the buſineſs, and make it look like a happy prevention of ſome terrible Conſpiracy. But what was the moſt deteſtable of all, by the accumulating of ſin upon ſin, as is uſual in ſuch caſes, was the *groſs abuſe of Juſtice it ſelf*, whereby the Courts of Juſtice were drawn into the participation of the guilt, by an *horrible and abominable Sentence*, not only *againſt Colinius* who was dead, but his children who were alive; and alſo againſt *Monſieur de Briquemaut*, who had fled to the Engliſh Ambaſſadors; *and Arnald Cavagnes* Maſter of Requeſts, who had hid himſelf hard-by with a friend, who admoniſhed him of the danger, but were both taken and impriſoned in the Palace, and the ſame day that Sentence was given againſt Colinius, were *condemned to death*, which Cavagnes ſuffered with admirable conſtancy, reciting Prayers out of the Pſalms by heart, in Latin, for three hours together, with his eyes ſteadily fixed towards Heaven: but his companion at firſt, affrighted with his approaching death, made an unworthy offer for the redemption of his life, to diſcover a means how to ſurprize Rochel, yet afterwards, when the King refuſed that condition, but offered him another, which was, that he ſhould acknowledg himſelf guilty of the crimes objected to him, and confeſs before the people that there was a Conſpiracy entred into by Colinius againſt the King, he refuſed that, and choſe rather to ſuffer death, which accordingly he did with Cavagnes. While theſe & ſuch like arts were uſed to excuſe and diſguiſe the buſineſs at home, to do it abroad, beſides the Queens Letters above-mentioned, were ſeveral *Ambaſſadors employed* in Helvetia, Germany, England, Poland, and other foreign Countries, where they either reſided before, or were ſent on purpoſe for this ſervice, and *Learned men ſuborned* and perſwaded to do it by printed Books. But all theſe, not having any certain ground of truth, as a common foundation for all to build upon, while each alledged, not what he did know or believe to be true, but what his own

genius dictated as moſt plauſible and likely to put ſome colour upon the buſineſs: ſome extenuating the fact as to the King's acting in it; and others on the contrary juſtifying the ſame; ſome excuſing it only by way of recrimination for things done in the late Wars; and others inſiſting upon the pretended conſpiracy of Colinius; were not only confuted by others, who alſo in print anſwered their writings and ſpeeches, but of themſelves betrayed and detected the vanity of their ſeveral pretences and allegations, by their inconſiſtency and diſagreement one with another. The Learned Lawyer Fr. Baldwin was hereunto ſollicited, but was more ingenuous than to be retained in the patronage of ſo foul a cauſe: and yet among thoſe who undertook this office, beſides the Mercenaries, were ſome perſons otherwiſe of honour and repute, who, becauſe what was done could not be undone, partly to conſult the credit of their King and Countrey, partly to accommodate the preſent ſtate of affairs, endeavoured either by feigned praiſes, or officious excuſes, to cover and palliate that fact which in their hearts they detected. And ſome were therein ſo far tranſported, and over-ſhot themſelves, out of zeal for the honour and good of their Countrey, that our ingenuous author deplores their actings in it, eſpecially as to that foul buſineſs of the Trial and Sentence above-mentioned. But generally the French Courtiers, who were more ingenuous than to proſtitute their reputation by aſſerting that pitiful pretence of the conſpiracy, yet uſed all their art to repreſent the caſe, as a ſudden accidental thing, and not ſo long before contrived as the Italians and Spaniards relate.

48. It is very uſual and even natural to men, eſpecially to the more conſidering minds, when any thing rare and extraordinary doth occur, not to reſt ſatisfied with the bare contemplation of the thing, but alſo to reflect back, and enquire into *the cauſes of it*. And therefore ſince Thuanus relates that *the more prudent of thoſe*, who, being no way addicted to the Proteſtant party, with good and honeſt meaning ſought how to excuſe this execrable fact, yet in their heart deteſting the ſame, did alſo ſeriouſly conſider the cauſes of it, *their ſenſe and judgment* in that reſpect may likewiſe deſerve our obſer-

Lib. 53.

vation

vation. They ſaw apparently that ſo infamous and pernitious counſels could not proceed but from minds ſo ſtrangely infatuated and blinded, and did ſeem to argue a ſpecial judgment of God upon them. And of that, the cauſes to which it might be reaſonably attributed were very obvious and eaſy to be diſcovered. For ſuch was the profaneneſs, debauchery and wickedneſs, which prevailing in the King, (through his evil Education by his Mother and thoſe Tutors to whom ſhe committed him) and in the Court, were by the evil example thereof derived to the City, and thence to the Countrey-Towns and Villages, and ſo diffuſed through the whole Kingdom, as could not but provoke the Holy Majeſty of God to ſend down his judgments upon them. This is the ſum of their judgment, only he gives more particular inſtances in the ſins of common Swearing, Adultery and Fornication, to which others add many more, and tell us in general, that then never was there any more vicious or more corrupted Court. And indeed, thoſe were ſuch cauſes, as, being ſo obvious and notorious, no ſerious Chriſtian believing, and inſtructed in the Sacred Scriptures, but would readily aſſign in the caſe. For thus doth St. Paul inform the Ro- *Rom.* 1.
mans, of ſuch as hold the truth in unrighteouſneſs, (and our Romaniſts might do well to be admoniſhed by it) that becauſe when they knew God, they glorified him not as God. their fooliſh heart was darkened, and he gave them up to the luſts of their own hearts, to vile affections, and to a reprobate mind, to do thoſe things which are not convenient, being filled with all Injuſtice, Fornication, Murder, Deceit, breach of Faith, &c. What-ever be the profeſſion which ſuch men make of Religion, moſt certain it is, that there is either great error and corruption in their Religion, or little ſincerity and life in their profeſſion, or laſtly, ſuch impotence in the profeſſors, that the prevalence of their ſenſual affections doth eaſily over-power and faſcinate their reaſon; which argues their deſertion by that Sacred Spirit which infuſes light and life, and heat and power into humane ſouls, as they are diſpoſed to receive it, no leſs than doth the Sun communicate its kind influences to the corporal and animal nature. And as

this

this doth maturate and ſweeten crude and ſour fruits, and confirm and ſtrengthen the tender plants; ſo doth that, where it is indeed heartily embraced, admirably diſpoſe mens minds to ſweetneſs and tranquility in themſelves, to ſweetneſs and devotion to God, to ſweetneſs, kindneſs and benignity to men; and makes theſe diſpoſitions ſtrong and powerful in them. Where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is power: it informs the mind and underſtanding, it reforms the will and affections, and transforms the whole man into its own likeneſs. Theſe are the fruits of the Spirit by which we are to judge of the tree. This is that whereby all true Chriſtians have a real and internal, not meerly external or political, communion and union with their Head Chriſt Jeſus, and through him with the fountain, from whom, by him, it is derived to all his true members; (of his fulneſs we all receive), and one with another, they are all partakers of the ſame Spirit, (a nearer alliance than that of bloud) and are filled with a tender affection to all the children of the ſame Father, and love to all the creatures of their great Lord, and for his ſake even to their enemies, to thoſe that perſecute and injure them; pitying their blindneſs and madneſs, and deſiring their converſion, not deſtruction. But no ſooner or further is any man deſerted by this bleſſed Spirit, or devoid of his ſweet influences, but he preſently becomes ſo much the more obnoxious to all the malevolent aſpects of wicked ſpirits, and is impregnated and filled with the poiſon of their infections, which excites and exalgitates to exorbitancy his ſenſual affections, dementates his underſtanding, and continually foments and promotes the aſſimulation and likeneſs of their own nature in him, cheriſhing and fructifying the roots which are in him, of Pride, Ambition, Envy, Malice, Revenge, Perfidiouſneſs, and all manner of luſts and wickedneſs, according to his particular diſpoſition. And becauſe there is ſo ſtrong and powerful a propenſity to Religion rooted and fixed in the very nature of man, as is very difficult, if not impoſſible utterly to extirpate or depreſs this in ſuch a perſon, is by the ſubtil operation of theſe agents, either, if more languid and remiſs,

diver-

diverted, by exciting him to an eager profecution of his other more ſtrong inclinations; or, if more intenſe and active, perverted either into ſuperſtition, or ſome other conceived heroick acts of a partial Religion, conſiſting and concurring with the ſatisfaction of his other inclinations: whence ordinarily proceeds much of that heat and zeal which we frequently ſee in men for their ſeveral parties, for the ſhells and out-ſides of Religion; for opinions and notions, no more neceſſary to be known and determined to make men compleat Chriſtians, than the ſpeculations of Philoſophers; and often for pernitious and deſtructive principles, eſpecially in the Romaniſts; and inconſiderate endeavours, by fraud and injuſtice, ſedition or oppreſſion, and violent perſecutions, and ſuch like moſt unchriſtian actions, for the advancement of the cauſe which they eſpouſe; whereby they encourage themſelves with ſecret hopes to expiate their licentiouſneſs and indulgence to their own inclinations in other matters, and eaſily perſwade themſelves that ſo long as they are ſuch good Catholicks, or well affected to the truth and the cauſe of God and his Church, that all muſt needs be well with them. And hence proceeded this not only unchriſtian, but barbarous and inhumane, perfidious, bloudy action of Charles 9. Hence the ſuſpition of his Brother and Succeſſors Henr. 3. Hence all the licentiouſneſs and wickedneſs which we ſee every where in the World. And to all this is no ſmall occaſion given by the complying Conduct, Commutations of Penances, and other practices of the Jeſuites and other Romaniſts. But the ſame Apoſtle informs us of *another cauſe* near of kin to this, and no leſs effectual to the provocation of this judgment of obduration of mens minds, which is very likely to have had no little influence in this caſe: and that is the reſiſting, rejection, or not receiving and embracing of the Truth when offered: which he mentions in a paſſage, which, if I be not much miſtaken, concerns the defection of the Church of Rome, and hath been ſo underſtood by the Chriſtians in all ages, (though ſomewhat obſcurely and imperfectly, as is uſual in the interpretations of prophetick writings before they be fulfilled), as well agrees with the conjecture. Becauſe they receive

receive not the love of the Truth, ſaith he, For this cauſe
1 *Theſ.* 2. God ſhall ſend them ſtrong deluſions. And this 'tis very likely had no ſmall influence in this caſe. For if out of the Roman Religion we take all that which the Proteſtants receive and profeſs, which the Romaniſts muſt needs confeſs to be truly Catholick, the greateſt part of the reſt hath been either introduced, or ſo new modelled and accommodated to the ſecular intereſt and advantage of the See of Rome within this 600 years laſt paſt, as hath not only given occaſion to moſt of the troubles and miſchiefs in Europe ever ſince, but very much injured, diſhonoured and prejudiced Chriſtianity it ſelf. And when it pleaſed God by his providence, both long ſince, and again of latter days, to raiſe up a people in the Confines of France, who retaining that which of all ſides is confeſſed to be truly Catholick, rejected thoſe novel corruptions and abuſes, (though perhaps with them ſome things which might be tolerated), and thereby gave ſo fair occaſion to the French upon further conſideration, and with more mature deliberation to reform the ſame, (as Queen Eliz. did here), that a great part of the moſt ſober and pious of the French Nation, even Biſhops and Cardinals, being thereupon ſenſible of the need of it, did earneſtly deſire and ſollicit the convention of a National Synod to that purpoſe; the French Kings were unhappily ſo far wrought upon by the arts of Rome, as not only ungratefully to reject that benefit offered by the Divine Providence, but at laſt to perſecute thoſe who were made the occaſions of it. And this ſeems to have been ſo manifeſt a cauſe of the troubles, miſchiefs and adverſities, which by the
1500. providence of God have befallen that Nation and their Princes ſince the beginning of that Century, that it is ſtrange (but that the height of contentions then on foot might perhaps hinder it) that neither thoſe prudent conſidering men did take notice of it in this caſe, nor yet our judicious and candid Author, who relates their judgment, and had himſelf obſerved almoſt as much in Lewis 12. *If it be fit*, ſays he, *for a mor-*
Lib. 1. *tal man to ſpeak his opinion concerning the eternal Counſels of God, I ſhould ſay that there was no other cauſe why that moſt excellent Prince, in ſo many reſpects commendable and worthy of a*

better

better fortune, ſhould meet with ſo many conflicts with adverſities, than that he had contracted ſo near alliance with Pope Alexander 6. and cheriſhed the cruelties, luſts, perfidiouſneſs, and fortunes of that impure Father (the Pope) *and of his Son* (Cæſar Borgia) *a man drowned in all kind of wickedneſs*: and then relating the King's calling of a Synod, upon his provocations by the next Pope Julius 2. (undoubtedly ſo ordered for the ſame purpoſe by the Divine Providence) firſt at Lions, and then at Piſa for the reformation of the Church, and his medals coined with this Inſcription, PERDAM BABYLONIS NOMEN, and how after all this he renounced the Council at Piſa through the importunities of his wife, and ſubſcribed to the Lateran Council to gratifie the next Pope Leo 10. and adding that *in the judgment of many he had done more advisedly if he had perſevered in his purpoſe of reforming the Church*, he concludes; *Theſe therefore were the cauſes both of the declination of our Empire, and of the adverſe fortune of Lewis*: who after all his other misfortunes died without iſſue male, which he much deſired to ſucceed him. And in this King is very obſervable, that as there was in him no want of magnanimity, humane prudence, or care for himſelf, the glory of his Kingdom, and proſperity of his affairs, to which his misfortunes could be imputed, which makes the judgment of God therein the more apparent; ſo neither could any vice or other fault be noted in him, which might be aſſigned as a cauſe of that judgment, but what is here mentioned, the neglect of that duty whereunto he was ſo fairly led, and whereof he was ſo far convinced, as that he began to put it in execution. In the time of his ſucceſſor Francis 1. all things ſeemed to conſpire in giving occaſion every where to the Reformation of the Church, what through the Pope's differences with ſeveral Princes, which produced the abolition and abrogation of the Papal Authority for ſome time in Spain, and afterward in England; what through that abominable impoſture of Indulgences and other their groſs wickedneſs and abuſes, which provoked Martin Luther and other learned men to ſearch into, and detect their myſtery of iniquity, and diſcover many groſs errors and abuſes crept into

the Church, whereupon enſued the Reformation happily begun and promoted by many Proteſtant Princes and Cities in Germany, and other parts. But Francis not only neglected the occaſion, and rejected and made himſelf unworthy of the common benefit of it, but moreover contracted that * alliance with the Popes, and at laſt began thoſe † perſecutions, the unhappy conſequence of both which we are now relating. [Nor was the King of Spain much more happy in his perſecutions of the Proteſtants in the Low-Countries, the conſequence whereof was the loſs of the beſt part of them: and all he got by the Inquiſition in Spain, was but the excluſion of light and truth from his people, and his own ſlavery to the ſtrong deluſions and infatuations of the Jeſuites, who precipitated him into divers diſhonourable, unſucceſful, and to his own affairs pernitious undertakings.]

* *He married his Son Henr. 2. to Katharine of Medices daughter to Lawrence D. of Urbin, who was Nephew to Leo 10. and Couſin to Clem. 7.*

† *V. 3. Sect. 39. pag. 56.*

49. But to return to the effects and conſequences of that bloudy act, whereof what hath yet been related, was but the firſt fruits of thoſe Counſels from which ſo much happineſs, tranquility and glory were ſo long expected, inſtead whereof was reaped only horror, ſhame and anxiety, whereunto ſucceeded a plentiful harveſt of other real troubles. For the King and that Faction which prevailed at Court, after ſo many former breaches of publick Faith, by this ſo inhumane cruelty and foul breach of Faith, ſo much the greater, by how much the greater arts and deep diſſimulation had been uſed before to raiſe a truſt & confidence of their ſincerity, had now driven thoſe of the Proteſtants who remained alive to that diſtruſt and jealouſie (the uſual fruits of perfidiouſneſs) of what-ever Letters, Promiſes, Edicts, or other means could be deviſed to ſatisfy them, that nothing could give them any aſſurance of their lives and ſafety, but retaining thoſe places which by the laſt agreement of Peace were left in their poſſeſſion for their ſecurity, (and were now, had the agreement been performed, to have been delivered) to ſtand upon their defence. And though many of them not only doubting of their ſtrength, but making ſcruple of the juſtice of the cauſe, now ſince not only the Princes of the blood, to whom the adminiſtration of the Kingdom did belong, were abſent, but more-

Thu. l. 53.

moreover the King himſelf was grown a man, did diſpute againſt it, and from both thoſe grounds urged all the arguments they could: yet againſt the firſt of theſe, the horror of theſe ſlaughters, which they had ſo lately ſeen, and did foreſee, prevailed, and deſpair made the moſt timerous couragious. And this alſo made the anſwer which was returned by others to the latter, more ſatisfactory to the reſt; that to take up Arms for their juſt defence, not to offer violence to any, but only to repel the injury, and ſave themſelves from ſlaughter, was neither by the Laws of God or man unlawful; that it ought not to be reputed a war againſt the King, but a juſt defence againſt their enemies who abuſed the King's authority to deſtroy them, who if ſo powerful as to have proceeded ſo far in the late tumult beyond his conſent or privity, or prevalent with him as to work his aſſent to ſo unjuſt and foul an action, they had the more reaſon to ſecure themſelves againſt their power and treachery, till juſtice ſhould be done upon them; nor ought they to doubt, but in ſo juſt a cauſe upon their ſerious repentance, truſt in God, and humble ſupplications to him, he would graciouſly pity their miſery, and provide ſome unexpected means for their relief. And therefore ſeeing La Charite was ſurprized at the time of the maſſacre, and the ſame was attempted againſt Montabon, and being further warned by what was lately done at * Caſtres, which after great promiſes of ſafety by the King, was notwithſtanding permitted to be plundered, and layed waſte by the ſlaughters and rapines of Creuſeta, Rochel, having for ſome daies kept a ſolemn faſt, with divers other places prepare for their defence. And at laſt when arts failed, eſpecially after the maſſacre at Burdeaux, in the midſt of their treaties, the King's Forces were ſent to aſſault them. *And theſe* (ſays Thuanus, after a more particular relation of them) *were the beginnings of the Fourth Civil War in France, the more memorable, becauſe from ſo ſmall beginnings, beyond the hope and expectation even of thoſe who* through neceſſity *rather than upon counſel and deſign did manage it, when, ſo many Commanders being ſlain, the Nobility who remained diſperſed abroad, and the people in all places aſtoniſhed, all was thought ſubdued, within*

D. l. p. 377.
** Caſtrum in Albigenſi agro.*

the compaſs of a year, without the foreign aid of any Prince, and money every where after ſo great plunders failing them, *it reſtored the affairs of the Proteſtants* to good condition again. And yet this was only a defenſive War on their part, and, as he ſays, of neceſſity, wherein thoſe poor people fought only for their lives and ſafety, and not to neglect the King's commands, were willing to keep their meetings at Sermons only ſecretly in the night, and not openly in the day-time, which yet could not be denied them without manifeſt injuſtice and breach of publick Faith. But ſuch were their apprehenſions of the perfidiouſneſs and cruelty of their enemies, and reſolutions thereupon, that they choſe rather to ſuffer all the miſeries and neceſſities that humane nature is able to bear, than again to truſt to the mercy or promiſes of them whom they had ſo often found perfidious, and moreover at laſt ſo barbarouſly inhumane and cruel. And therefore at Samerre it is
Thu. l. 55. almoſt incredible what they ſuffered. Having ſpent their ſtores, they killed and eat their Aſſes, Mules, Horſes, Dogs, and all other living creatures they could meet with; and when that alſo was ſpent, they deviſed ways to make Hydes, Skins, Parchment, Bridle-rains, and what-ever was made of leather, edible; and Bran, Straw, Nutſhels, the Horns and Hoofs of Beaſts, even dugg out of the dunghils, and the very dung of Horſes, and ſuch things as ſcarce any other creatures will feed on; inſomuch, that whereas in eight moneths ſiege they had not loſt 100 ſlain, in forty days above 500 died of hunger, and 200 more were famiſhed almoſt to death. Ro-
Thu. l. 56. chel indeed was not driven to that extremity, partly having made better proviſions for themſelves, partly by an extraordinary ſupply, little leſs than miraculous; for all the time of the ſiege, the tides, it being a Sea-Town, left the poor people ſuch plenty of a kind of ſhell-fiſh, as very well ſupplied them with food; which, when the ſiege was ended, preſently vaniſhed, and were not ſeen in ſuch plenty much longer. Yet did they teſtify as great abhorrence of the perfidiouſneſs and cruelty of their enemies, by their incredible courage and activity, even of their women in the repulſe of ſeveral fierce aſſaults, and alſo in ſallies: and in concluſion, the aſſailants

ſeeking

ſeeking rather occaſions how to raiſe the ſiege with credit, than having any hope to obtain the City by force, they came to this agreement for themſelves, Montabon and Niſmes, confirmed by an Edict, *That free profeſſion of their Religion ſhould be permitted them, according to the Edicts made in behalf of the Proteſtants; their priviledges confirmed; no Garriſon impoſed on them; only the King ſhould appoint them a Governor, and they ſhould be governed by the Laws and Cuſtoms which they had uſed even ſince they became Subjects to the Crown of France*, &c. Some time after Samere obtained by agreement to enjoy the benefit of the Pacification made with Rochel, but paying 40000 *l.* for the ſaving of their Movables. *And this end* (ſays our Author) *had this fourth Civil War after the tumult at Paris, when the Courtiers thought all ſubdued by that ſlaughter, begun and finiſhed in the aſſaulting of certain Cities, and eſpecially in the ſiege of that one City of Rochel, which for ſo many months did moſt ſtifly, beyond the opinion of all men, ſuſtain, and at laſt break the ſtrength and force of the whole Kingdom raiſed againſt it, beſides Aumale, Tular, Coſſens, Goa his Brother, and other,* 40000 *Souldiers* (the very number ſaid by Davila to have been ſlain in the maſſacre) *being ſlain, and dead of ſickneſs, and among theſe* 60 *chief* * *Commanders* (and as ſome ſay, moſt of the actors of that tragedy) *beſides a vaſt deal of mony and military proviſions ſpent, and at laſt things being reduced to thoſe ſtreights, that the King contrary to what had before been falſly perſwaded him, thought himſelf a greater gainer by that Peace, than by the Pariſian ſlaughter.* Such were the effects whether of the Italian Policy, or the Romiſh Doctrine of not keeping Faith with Hereticks.

Thu. l. 56. *Da. p.* 392.

* *Ordinum Davilores.*

50. He had no ſooner ended this War, but he began to be grievouſly afflicted with that fatal *diſeaſe* which in few months after put an end to his life, not without ſuſpition of poiſon by his Mother and Brother Anjou, and beſides in the mean time, by her arts, and the influences of the Guiſes upon her, was preſently involved in *a fit of Civil War.* And this not only *againſt the Proteſtants*, whom having ſufficient cauſe from former experience to beware of the perfidiouſneſs and cruelty of their enemies, after other new occaſions of ſuſpition, ſhe

Thu. l. 57.

ſhe forced again to provide for their ſecurity, and ſtand upon their defence, by a perfidious attempt to ſurprize Rochel by her emiſſaries, who had corrupted ſome in the City to betray it to the Forces, which for that purpoſe they had drawn near it; but alſo againſt a conſiderable *party of the Catholicks*, (as they call them) whom, while ſhe thought it neceſſary for the continuance of her power and authority in the government, to keep up, and foment factions among the chief Nobility, ſhe, by over-doing what ſhe deſigned, forced, for their own ſafety and ſecurity, to joyn their complaints and forces with the Proteſtants. Whereby (conſidering the diviſion of that party) ſhe in ſome ſort repaired the loſs which the Proteſtant party had ſuſtained by the maſſacres; the Providence of God undoubtedly thus ordering it to manifeſt the vanity of their former hopes of peace and tranquility by ſuch wicked courſes for the deſtruction of the Proteſtants, and to puniſh by their mutual diſſentions among themſelves, their former unanimity in perſecuting them. The *chief of this party* were the ſons of the old Conſtable Momorancy, (in his time an active perſecutor of the Proteſtants) the Viſcount de Turenne, and others, whom the Queen, favouring the contrary faction of the Guiſes, continually by divers calumnies incenſing and exaſperating the King againſt them, and by other ſtratagems which they diſcovered, drove into deſpair of ſafety by any other means; which no doubt was not a little increaſed by the experience which they had ſeen of her perfidiouſneſs and cruelty in the caſe of the Proteſtants, all men being ſuſpitious of thoſe whom they have obſerved falſe and perfidious to others. And to theſe *Alanson* the King's younger Brother, upon the ſame occations, beſides ſome other cauſes of diſcontent, joyned himſelf as head. Beſides thoſe of the Nobility, there were *two other Subſidiary Factions in the Court.* "*The* "*one* of thoſe, who deſirous by any means to retain the Reli- "gion of their Anceſtors, and careleſs for any amendment or "reformation of it, did eaſily ſuffer themſelves, in favour of "them who took up Arms under pretence of defending it, to "be drawn in either by fraudulent interpretations to elude, "or plainly and altogether to violate the Faith given to the

Tom. l. 59. pr.

"Pro-

"Proteſtants. *The other* of thoſe who would not depart "from the religion of their anceſtors, but yet deſired many "things in it, in tract of time, through covetouſneſs and "groſs ignorance, brought in to the diſhonour of God, and "offence of many, to be corrected; and therefore being "more favourable to the Proteſtants, held that things ought "to be tranſacted in a friendly manner with them, that the "Faith publickly given them ſhould be faithfully kept, and "that by any means peace, without which the buſineſs of re-"formation could not proceed, ſhould be ſetled. The firſt "favoured the Guiſes, who ſought all occaſions of War, the "latter the Momorances, who perſwaded Peace. Of this "laſt opinion were thoſe famous men Michael Hoſpitalius "Chancellor of France, Paulus Foxius, Chriſtophorus Thu-"anus, Chriſtophorus Menilius, though they never engaged "in Arms on either ſide. And this was the party which were called *Politicks*, a name, ſaith our Author, by the ſeditious attributed to them who were ſtudious for the good of the King and peace of the Kingdom, (li. 52.) and *male contents*. "But that faction which deſired ſtirs alwaies prevailing in "the Court, hence it came to paſs, that ſo many Edicts (of "Pacification) were made one upon another, and as often "violated, the War being ſo often renewed, and with the "ſame levity where-with it was begun, laid down again. "Whereof the King by this time became ſenſible, and obſer-"ved, but when it was too late, that that unhappy maſſacre "had, contrary to what was expected, diſſolved the bonds of "peace and publick ſecurity. And therefore with indigna-"tion perceiving that the Counſellors of it had more reſpect "to the ſatisfaction of their own private hatred and ambi-"tion, than to the publick Faith and quiet (of the Kingdom) "without which he could never keep up his Royal Majeſty, "being not a little incenſed againſt them, he reſolved from "that time to remove them from the Council, and to ſend "away from him his mother her ſelf, under a more honoura-"ble colour of viſiting her ſon Anjou in Poland, (whom he had newly, almoſt by force, thruſt out of France, having, to be rid of him, procured him to be choſen King there). "And

Many others were of the ſame mind, as Jo. Monluc Biſhop of Valence, and Car. Marillac Arch-Biſhop of Vienna. Thu. l. 25.

Thu. l. 57.

"And believing that the Civil Wars in France were raiſed "not ſo much for the cauſe of Religion as through the factions "of that Kingdom, & that the chief leaders of them were the "Guiſes and the Momorances, he reſolved, without any re- "gard of the Law, or the juſtice of either cauſe, to deſtroy "both theſe potent Families, being no leſs exaſperated againſt "Guiſe than Momorancy, and therefore had often thoughts of "taking him out of the way. But in the midſt of theſe troubles without, in his Kingdom, and others within, in his mind and body, after very grievous and long pains, ſo that long before *his death* he felt himſelf dying, he ended his life every way miſerable, by that ſickneſs which few thought natural, but rather procured by his own Mother and Brother Anjou, as our Author doth ſufficiently intimate, and was further remarkable by the effuſion of his own bloud, who had ſo perfidiouſly and barbarouſly ſhed the bloud of ſo many of his ſubjects. Davila ſaith he began ſome months before to ſpit bloud; others that he died of a Bloudy-flux, and that much bloud iſſued out of all the paſſages of his body; and that he happened to fall down, and wallowed in his own bloud. And whereas Davila ſays that he ended his life with grave and pious diſcourſes, others ſay that he ended it with imprecations and curſings, and that his laſt words were meer blaſphemies. Whereof, which is moſt credible, the reader conſidering his natural temper, life and actions, may eaſily judge. He died under five and twenty years of age, without iſſue male to ſucceed him, leaving only a daughter by his Queen, with whom he had been above four years married, and a baſtard-ſon. And theſe were the fruits which he reaped of his bloudy and perfidious counſels and practices.

Panci naturalem ei rebantur, memores quæ ſummus diſſimulandi artifex præ impatientia interminatus & matri & fratri eſſet, neq; ignari quam non ſponte nonus Rex Galliam relinqueret, p. 441. *in* octav. and again, p. 493. *Mortui corpus a Chirurgis & medicis apertum; in quo livores ex cauſa incognita reperti, conceptam multorum opinionem auxerunt potius quam minuerunt. l.* 57.

51. Nor did *his next Brother* Anjou, called *Henr.* 3. reap any better fruits of his counſels and actions in the maſſacre and other enterprizes againſt the Proteſtants; who in great haſte, upon notice of his Brother's death, ſhamefully ſtealing from

Thu. l. 58.

from his Kingdom of Poland, in his return to France was well *admoniſhed by the Emperor* Maximilian, that at the beginning of his Reign, and firſt entrance into France, he ſhould ſettle peace among his ſubjects: and the ſame counſel was often repeated to him *by the Duke of Venice* in the name of the Senate. Yet he was no ſooner arrived in France, but by the counſel of his Mother and the Guiſian and Italian faction, (the ſame Cabal which contrived the maſſacre) he reſolved the contrary, till finding it a work too hard by open force to deſtroy the remaining part of the Proteſtants, being moreover ſtrengthened by the aſſociation of the Politicks with them, there was at laſt *a Peace concluded* upon ſuch terms, as, had they been granted in ſincerity, and juſtly performed, might have produced much happineſs to that Kingdom. For, beſides what related to the particular concerns of Alancon, D'Anvil, and others of the Politicks and male-contents, to the Proteſtants was granted full liberty of Conſcience, and free exerciſe of their Religion, without exception of times or places, &c. and Towns for their ſecurity till the Articles ſhould be fully and perfectly performed. And theſe Articles were concluded by the Queen-Mother her ſelf in perſon, and *confirmed* by a publick Edict with all the ſolemnity that could be, the King himſelf being preſent in Parliament, ſitting in his Throne of Juſtice. "But theſe Articles, ſays Davila, as ſoon "as they were known to thoſe of the Catholick party, exaſpe- "rated moſt of their minds in ſuch manner, that they not only "murmured freely againſt the King himſelf and the Queen- "Mother, but many were diſpoſed to riſe, and would have "taken Arms to diſturb the unjuſtneſs [as they call it] "of that Peace, which was generally [by them] eſteemed "ſhameful, and not fit to be kept, if within a-while they had "not manifeſtly underſtood, that the King and Queen, pur- "poſely to recover and draw home the Duke of Alancon, "had conſented to conditions in words, which they were re- "ſolved not to obſerve in deeds. For, (as he preſently adds) "having exactly performed all things promiſed to the Duke "of Alancon, *none of the other Articles* were *obſerved* either "to the Proteſtants in general, or to the King of Navar and

Thu. l. 62. Davila. l. 6.

"Prince of Conde in particular: but the King permitting, "and tacitly conſenting to it, the Aſſemblies of the Prote- "ſtants were every where violently diſturbed, &c. And *the* "*Guiſes*, who were not ſlack in laying hold of any opportu- "nity to augment their own greatneſs, and to ſecure the ſtate "of that Religion, which was ſo ſtreightly linked to their in- "tereſts, began upon the conjuncture of ſo great an occa- "ſion, ſecretly to *make a league of the Catholicks*, in all the Pro- "vinces of the Kingdom, under colour of oppoſing the pro- "greſs and eſtabliſhment of hereſy, which by the Articles of "the Peace was ſo fully authorized and eſtabliſhed. And this was the Faith of a Catholick Prince, whoſe Conſcience was directed by the religious Jeſuites, and ſo great a votary, that though a King, he would often make one of the Flagellantes, and was believed would have changed his Kingdom for a Cell, though Guiſe had never attempted to force him to it: this the obedience and loyalty of his Catholick Subjects. But this was nothing to what followed; for this was but *the beginning of that Holy League*, which may juſtly put to ſilence all clamours, and anſwer all calumnies againſt the Proteſtants in France, upon occaſion of any miſcarriages of theirs under ſo long and grievous oppreſſions and unjuſt perſecutions; and was the pattern and precedent which was followed by that faction here, which the Romiſh Emiſſaries and Agents partly raiſed, and partly ruled, or ſecretly influenced to promote their own deſigns, as may be perceived by comparing ſuch evidences and teſtimonies as are to be met with of their myſterious practices in their works of darkneſs, with their Principles laid down to undermine this Church and State, extant in printed Books. *The form of the League* may be ſeen in Engliſh at large in Davila and Fonlis, to this effect: *The Covenant of the Princes, Lords and Gentlemen of the Catholick Religion, for the entire reſtitution of the Law of God, and preſervation of his holy worſhip, according to the form and rites of the holy Church of Rome, abjuring and renouncing all errors contrary to it.* 2. *For the preſervation of King Henr.* 3. *and his Succeſſors, in the State, Honour, Splendor, Authority, Duty, Service and Obedience due to them, &c.* 3. *For the reſtitution of their ancient rites, liberties and*

Thu. l. 61: *Busbeq. epiſt.* 20.

Lib. 6. *p.* 449. *Lib.* 8. *c.* 2. *p.* 496. *Thu. l.* 63.

and priviledges to the Provinces of the Kingdom, &c. In caſe there be any oppoſition againſt this aforeſaid, or any of the Covenanters, their friends or dependants be moleſted or queſtioned for this cauſe, by whomſoever it be, all that enter into this Covenant ſhall be bound to imploy their lives and fortunes to take vengeance upon them, either by way of juſtice or force, without any exception of perſons what-ever. They who depart from this Covenant ſhall be puniſhed both in body and goods. All ſhall likewiſe ſwear to yield ready obedience and faithful ſervice unto that Head which ſhall be deputed, and to give all help, counſel and aſſiſtance, as well for the maintenance of this League, as for the ruine of all that ſhall oppoſe it, without exception of perſons; and thoſe that fail ſhall be puniſhed by the authority of the Head, &c. All the Catholicks of the ſeveral Cities, Towns and Villages ſhall be ſecretly advertiſed by the particular Governors to enter into this League, and concur in providing Men, Arms, and other neceſſaries, &c. Into this League, (framed with ſo much art, that making a ſhew to obey and maintain the King, it took from him all his obedience and authority to confer it upon the head of their Union, as *Davila* notes,) when many were engaged in France, they began ſecretly to *treat at Rome* for Protection, *and* in *Spain* for men and money; nor did they find in either place any averſneſs to their deſires. And though they thought it unfit to diſpute openly whether the States were ſuperior to the King or no, yet while theſe things were acted in ſecret without his knowledge or conſent, they *ſought cunningly* (by a kind of cheat) *to take away his prerogative*, and (with his conſent) to ſettle it in a certain number, who ſhould have power to conclude and determine all buſineſs without contradiction or appeal; and to that end * petition the King, that for the diſpatch of all buſineſs with ſpeed and general ſatisfaction, he would be pleaſed to elect a number of Judges not ſuſpected by the States, who, together with twelve of the Deputies, might hear ſuch motions as from time to time ſhould be propoſed by every Order, and conclude and reſolve upon them, with this condition, that what-ever was joyntly determined by the Judges and Deputies together, ſhould have the form and vigour of a Law, without being ſubject to be

Davila, p. 451.

Da. p. 461. V. Thu. l. 63.

* *At the Aſſembly of the States at Blois. (which conſiſted moſt of ſuch who had ſubſcribed to the Catholick League.)*

altered or revoked; which had been in effect to unking him, and leave him little more than the title. But the King not
Thu. l. 63. ignorant of the importance of that demand, became ſenſible of their deſigns, and of his own danger, which more manifeſtly appeared in certain ſecret *inſtructions to Nic. David*, with which he was ſent to the Pope concerning the depoſing of the King, and thruſting him into a Monaſtery, and ſetting up Guiſe in his place, &c. which being taken with David in his journey, and publiſhed by the Proteſtants, were not believed at firſt, till the ſame being alſo ſent to the King of Spain, the French Ambaſſador there happened to get a copy of them, and ſent them to his Maſter, as Thuanus relates from his own mouth. The King therefore returns them a wary anſwer, ſuch as though not altogether denying their demand, yet gave them no great ſatisfaction. But though they failed in this attempt to unking the King with his own conſent, yet they reſolved, though without, or contrary to his conſent, not only to moderate the laſt articles of Peace, but to break them utterly, and again with more force than ever to begin the War againſt the Proteſtants, whereby they brought *the King to this neceſſity*, that he muſt either plainly and openly break his faith given to the Proteſtants, (which he had done before only by connivance) or engage with them in a more dangerous War againſt the Leaguers. And divers
Thu. l. 63. diſſwaded him from breach of his Faith, among the reſt William Lantgrave of Heſſe, beſides the reaſon he gave him in mind of that late and memorable *example of Ladiſlaus* 4. King of Hungary, who having ſworn a Truce with the great Turk Amurath 2. being perſwaded by the Pope and Cardinals, out of a vain hope that they could abſolve him from the obligation of it, perfidiouſly broke it. Whereupon in the firſt encounter (the Turk lifting up his eyes to Heaven, and calling to Chriſt to behold and puniſh the perfidious dealing where-with his followers had diſhoncured him) he was himſelf ſlain with 30000 of his men: on the other ſide *the French Theologiſts* did openly both in Sermons and printed Books *contend that the Prince is not obliged to keep Faith with the Hereticks*, alledging to that purpoſe the Decree of the Counci

Council of Conſtance, and therefore War is to be undertaken to extirpate them. And by the advice of the Biſhop of Lymoges and Morvillier (ſometime Biſhop of Orleans) *the King* determined, ſince he could not by open reſiſtance hinder the deſigns and progreſs of the League, (which already had taken too deep root) to *make himſelf Head* and Protector of it, and draw that authority to himſelf, which he ſaw they endeavoured to ſettle upon the Head *of the League*, both within and without the Kingdom; which accordingly he did, cauſing it to be read, publiſhed, and ſworn in open aſſembly, and with high proteſtations declared that he would ſpend his laſt breath to reduce all his people to a unity in Religion, and an entire obedience to the Roman Church: which done, he without much difficulty prevailed with Navar and the Proteſtants to yield to ſome reſtraints of the publick exerciſe of their Religion. And thus by a new *Edict of Pacification*, were things in * ſome ſort quieted for ſome time.

* *For in the midſt of peace nothing but the perſecution of hereſie was daily threatened. Da. p. 479.*

52. But after *the death of Alaneon* the King's youngeſt Brother, who died without iſſue, and not without ſuſpition of poiſon, in the flower of his age, being about thirty, (wherein we may take notice, by the way, of the Divine Vengeance by degrees extirpating that Family, which ſo wickedly ſought the extirpation of the Proteſtants) the King having no iſſue, nor like to have any, (notwithſtanding all his viſits and ſupplications at the Monuments of Saints and Religious places) whereby the Crown was likely to deſcend to the King of Navar, a Proteſtant Prince, who was next heir to it, *the Leaguers* preſently *begin new troubles*, the Preachers from the Pulpits fill their hearers minds with fears and jealouſies, meetings are every where held, Souldiers ſecretly liſted, and Officers appointed, and the more to enrage the people, while the Preachers fill their ears with the noiſe of approaching dangers, dreadful and horrid repreſentations of moſt terrible perſecutions which the Catholicks are ſaid to ſuffer in England, are preſented to their view, both in printed Books, and alſo in Cuts and Pictures which are ſet up in publick places, and perſons appointed to relate the ſad ſtories of them, and tell the people that thus it will be alſo in France, if the King of Navar.

Busbeq. ep. 5.

Thu. l. 80.

Thu. l. 81.

var be admitted to the Kingdom; and therefore to ſecure themſelves of a Catholick King, they reſolve to ſet up the Cardinal Bourbon for head of the League at preſent, and to ſucceed the King in caſe he ſhould die without iſſue. And the better to ſtrengthen themſelves they renew their League
Da. p. 516. with the Spaniard, and having ſuddenly raiſed a conſiderable Army, contrary to the King's expreſs prohibition by his
Da. p. 535. Edict, they begin to make themſelves Maſters of many Cities and Fortreſſes, ſome by ſecret practices, ſome by open
Da. p. 550. force of Arms, driving out the King's Governors and Officers, and in ſhort time, through the fury of the people, and great converſe of the Clergy in favour of the League, became ſo formidable to the King, that he was forced to *a new agree-*
Da. p. 557. *ment* with them *againſt the Proteſtants*, to baniſh their Preachers, confiſcate their eſtates, and with all ſpeed denounce a War againſt them, wherein ſuch men ſhould be made Commanders, as the League ſhould confide in, and a great deal more, partly againſt the Proteſtants, and partly to ſtrengthen
Da. p. 598. their own party. This agreement was made by *the King* only to comply with his preſent neceſſity, and not with any intention to perform it. For being now *out of hope of iſſue* himſelf, *he reſolved to further Navar's right*, and to unite himſelf with him, as his lawful Succeſſor, and make him partaker in matters of Government, to which end he held ſecret cor-
Da. p. 600. reſpondence with him. But *the Leaguers force him to go on with the War*; and upon the ſcore of his treaty with Navar *raiſe* great *clamors and calumnies againſt him*, that the cauſe of Religion is betrayed, the Proteſtants openly favoured, the courſe of the War interrupted, and that the King ſhews openly that his mind is averſe to the Catholick party, and that
Da. p. 606. he deſires by all means to cheriſh and maintain hereſy. And now the minds of the people are more than ever inflamed againſt his perſon and proceedings, which were publickly inveighed againſt in the Pulpits, and particularly ſlandered in
Thu. l. 86. private meetings, but eſpecially by the Prieſts at the ſecret confeſſions of the people, whom they refuſed to abſolve, unleſs they would enter into the League; and for the more ſecret carrying on of the buſineſs, intruſted in this *new Doctrine*,

that

that as well the Penitent, who ſhall reveal what he hears from his Confeſſor, as the Confeſſor who reveals what the Penitent confeſſeth, doth incur the guilt of mortal ſin. From calumnies and ſlanders they proceed to conſpiracies and actions. And at Paris they ſet up a new *Council of ſixteen*, which hold *their ſecret meetings*, firſt at the Colledg of Forlet, commonly called the cradle of the League, afterwards at the Colledge of the Dominicans, and at the Jeſuites Colledge *they plot to ſurprize Boulogne*, and there to admit the Spaniſh Fleet prepared againſt England. They alſo *conſult about taking the King himſelf*, as he returned from the Boys de Vincernes with a ſmall guard. And both theſe enterprizes being diſcovered to the King, failing, they ſet up a ſeditious Preacher to inveigh againſt the King and his Counſellors, and not doubting but thereupon the King would ſend to apprehend him, they determine upon that occaſion to ſtir up the people, and thereupon take up arms and deſtroy both him and thoſe about him, who were faithful to him. Which in part proceeded, and perhaps had been accompliſhed, if the King had not timely recalled thoſe he had employed: whereupon he was adviſed to depart from Paris, which he did; but not long after returning thither, he is preſented with a Petition, which at a *Conſultation at Nancy* (where it was concluded that Guiſe and the other confederate Lord, ſhould not enter to oppoſe the King at the very firſt) was ſo contrived, that if he granted it, their deſires would be effected without noiſe or trouble; and if he refuſed, he ſhould thereby give them occaſion and opportunity to make uſe of arms, and to acquire that by force, which he would not conſent to of his own accord. And though the King did not ſo much refuſe, as by excuſes, delay to anſwer it, the Preachers labour to caſt all the odium they can upon him, inveigh againſt him as favouring the hereticks, and on the other ſide highly extol and magnify the Catholick Princes, ſo they called the Guiſians. And Guiſe his coming to the City is by frequent Letters much importuned; which though, according to the former concluſion, he at preſent deferred, yet were ſome experienced Souldiers ſent to them, he not being willing to truſt to the City Commanders.

Da. p. 606. *Thu. l.* 86.

Da. p. 609. *Thu. l.* 86.

Thu. l. 87.

Da. p. 668. *Thu. l.* 90.

manders alone. And now reckoning their ſtrength 20000 men, there is *a new Conſpiracy* to fall upon the Louvre, and killing the guard, and all about him whom they ſuſpect, to ſeize upon the King. But this was alſo diſcovered, and the Council of ſixteen, who thought there might be ſome hazard in that, reſolve upon a more ſafe courſe, to ſeize upon him when he ſhould be in proceſſion, as he was wont, in the habit of a Penitent among the whipping Friars, and ſhut him up in a Monaſtery with a ſtrong Guard; and in the mean time a report ſhould be ſpread abroad, as if the King was taken away by the Proteſtants, at which the people ſhould take up arms and fall upon the Politicks, and thoſe they ſuſpected. And this being alſo diſcovered, the King conſults how to ſecure himſelf againſt the Conſpirators. In the mean time the Duke of *Guiſe* unexpectedly *comes to Paris* contrary to the King's command. And while the King ſeeks to ſtrengthen himſelf, and preventing the Leaguers to ſecure the moſt important places of the City, the Pariſians are raiſed at the ringing of the Bells, make Barricadoes croſs the ſtreets, come up to the Louvre, and begin to aſſault it. Whereupon the Queen-Mother goes to Guiſe in her Sedan, being denied paſſage in her Coach, and confers with him, but brings back nothing but complaints, and exorbitant demands. But the ſiege preſſing much on the one ſide, when it was feared they would likewiſe beſiege it on the other, the Queen-mother going again to Guiſe, and having notice by the way that 15000 men were preparing to encloſe the Louvre on the other ſide, holds him in a long treaty, while *the King* with 26 Gentlemen *ſteals ſecretly away to Chartres*, to the no ſmall grief of Guiſe and the Leaguers who had loſt ſo fair an opportunity. Whereupon they ſecure and ſtrengthen Paris, lay ſiege to the Boys de Vincernes, which yielded without reſiſtance, as did alſo St. Cloud, Lagny, Charranton, with all the other neighbouring Towns. *The King* being again reduced to his former ſtraits of accepting the aſſiſtance of the Proteſtants, or yielding to ſuch terms as the Leaguers would pleaſe to give him, after long conſultation at length *reſolved to uſe the ſame means againſt Guiſe, which he* remembred *had been uſed* in the reign of his

his Brother Charles *againſt the Admiral Coligny* and his Adherents, and to that end feigned to conſent to the opinion of thoſe who perſwaded him to unite himſelf to the Duke of Guiſe. And having upon a treaty *concluded a Peace* upon almoſt the ſame conditions which were contained in the Petition framed at Nancy, he receives Guiſe much after the ſame manner that his Brother did Coligny, with great expreſſions of honour, cauſes the Edict of the Union to be preſently publiſhed, the War againſt the Proteſtants proclaimed, for the proſecution whereof, according to the Articles of the Peace, two ſeveral Armies were appointed. *Guiſes atchievements* were highly *magnified* by the Leaguers in France, and no leſs by *the Pope* at Rome, who ſent to him and to the Cardinal Bourbon *his Congratulatory Letters*, full of high praiſes, which were preſently publiſhed in print, and diſperſed abroad. Wherein he commends their piety and zeal in promoting the buſineſs of Religion, comparing Guiſe to the Holy Maccabees, the defenders of the people of Iſrael, ſo highly extolled in the Sacred Scriptures, and exhorting him to continue ſucceſsfully and gloriouſly to fight for the advancement of the Church, and the total extirpation of the Proteſtants, acquaints him with his own unceſſant prayers for the Divine aſſiſtance to him, adding that nothing could be more ſeaſonable for the preſent occaſion, than that he ſhould have his Legate in France, by whoſe means and authority their endeavours might be promoted for the good of the Kingdom, and of the Catholick Religion. And if any thing more be neceſſary to be done by him, he deſires to be certified of it, who ſhall never be wanting to their cauſe. Guiſe and the Leaguers being not a little animated by theſe things, *the Aſſembly of the States at Blois*, which was called upon this late agreement, and were moſt of the faction of the League, eſpecially the Order of the Clergy, which did in a manner wholly incline to that ſide, with great heat *pronounce the King of Navar for his crime of hereſy unworthy of the ſucceſſion of the Kingdom*: which being decreed by the Clergy, and upon their ſignification and admonition univerſally ſubſcribed by the other two orders, holding it a great fault in the cauſe of Religion to diſſent from

Thu. l. 91.

Thu. l. 93.

the Eccleſiaſticks, the Arch-Biſhop of Ambrun, with twelve of each Order, repair to the King, and deſire that by his authority, and a publick Edict, the Decree may be confirmed. But the King utterly averſe from it, though he would not plainly deny it, yet put it off as well as he could; but ſuch was the obſtinacy of the States, that he was forced at laſt to anſwer that he agreed to the general vote, and would think of cauſing the Decree to be framed. Guiſe alſo with all his might urged the receiving of *the Council of Trent*, whereunto, though the King conſented, yet was it *rejected* with great contradiction, not only by the Nobility, but by a great many of the Clergy. This was urged by him partly as a powerful engine againſt the Proteſtants, partly further to oblige the Pope, if it ſucceeded, and to raiſe a prejudice in him againſt the King, if it ſucceeded not by his default. And to ingratiate himſelf the more with the people, he moves for eaſe of grievances by impoſitions and taxes, though a thing inconſiſtent with the proſecution of the War againſt the hereticks. But the King finding now a convenient opportunity to execute his deſign, acquaints ſome of his confidents with it, and having ordered all things ſo as to avoid the ſuſpition of Guiſe, much after the manner heretofore uſed againſt Colinius, he commands him to be ſlain, which was accordingly * done; and the Cardinal his Brother being with many Lords and adherents of that Faction, at the ſame time committed to cuſtody, was about two daies after by the King's command in like manner ſlain. Thus do thoſe who had wickedly conſpired the barbarous ſlaughter of ſo many innocent Proteſtants, now, by the juſt judgment and vengeance of God upon them, mutually conſpire one anothers deſtruction. And that City which was then ſo forward in executing the wicked counſels and commands of ſavage and perfidious men, is now as forward in executing the juſt judgments of the righteous God upon one of the chief Authors of them; and they who before had been the inſtruments of his cruelty, are now made the inſtruments of his puniſhment.

* *The manner of his death, ſee in the notes upon the hiſtory of the Maſſacre. Sect.* 17.

Thu. l. 93. *Da. l.* 10.

53. Upon the news of theſe things ſpread abroad, the Leaguers are all in an an uproar, and at Paris, having held a Council

Council where nothing almoſt was heard but reproaches againſt the King, and cries for revenge, the Duke of *Aumale* is called out of a Monaſtery to be their Governor; *the Preachers* from their Pulpits thunder out the praiſes of the Duke of Guiſe his Martyrdom, and deteſtations of that ſlaughter moſt cruelly committed by the King; in ſuch manner, that not only the minds of the baſer people, but alſo of the moſt noted Citizens were won by their perſwaſions, and inflamed with an infinite deſire to take revenge; and the Council of ſixteen cauſe *a writing* to be *preſented to the* famous *Colledg of* Divines called the *Sorbon*, in the name of the Provoſt and Eſchevins of the City, containing theſe two Queſtions. 1. *Whether they ſhould not be free from their Oath of Fidelity and Obedience to Henry the third.* And, 2. *Whether they might not with ſafe Conſcience, arm, unite, collect and contribute money for the defence and conſervation of the Roman Catholick Religion in this Kingdom, againſt the wicked counſels and endeavours of the King aforeſaid, and all other his adherents whomſoever, and againſt his breach of publick Faith at Blois,* &c. Whereunto upon mature deliberation at an aſſembly of ſeventy Maſters of that Faculty, and ſolemn reſolution, it was anſwered nemine refragante, 1. *That the people of this Kingdom are free, and at liberty from their Oath of Fidelity and Obedience to King Henry aforeſaid.* 2. *That the ſame people lawfully, and with ſafe conſcience* * *may arm, unite, collect and contribute money for the defence and conſervation of the Catholick, Apoſtolick and Roman Religion, againſt the wicked counſels and endeavours of the aforeſaid King, and whomſoever adhering to him, ſince he hath violated the publick Faith to the prejudice of the Catholick Religion, and of the Edict of the holy Union, and of the natural liberty of the aſſembly of the three Eſtates of this Kingdom.* Moreover, they think fit that this Decree or concluſion be ſent to the Pope, that he may by the authority of the holy See approve and confirm it, and afford his help and aſſiſtance. And accordingly *a Letter* is drawn up, and *ſent* by the Pariſians in the name of themſelves, and the reſt of the Catholicks in France, wherein they repreſent to him the zeal of the people, "all good men being ready to

Thu. l. 94: Da. p. 762. Fonl. c. 5. p. 530.

* *Dav. p. 763.* that the King had forfeited his right to the Crown, and that his Subjects not only *might*, but *ought* to caſt off their obedience, *&c.*

Fonl. p. 533.

"lay down their lives rather than ſuffer that Tyranny; and
"more than 10000 of the Pariſians filling the ſtreets with
"cries to Heaven for vengeance againſt the Tyrant; others
"whipping the ſtatue of the Tyrant, breaking it to pieces,
"and throwing it into the fire. And indeed after this De-
Da. p. 763. "claration (to uſe Davila's words) the people as it were
"looſened from the bonds of obedience, and having broken
"the rein of modeſty, ran violently to the *breaking down of*
"*the King's Arms and Statues* where ever they found them,
"and began furiouſly to ſeek out all thoſe whom they ac-
"counted dependants of his party, by them called Navar-
"riſts and Politicks; which forced many quiet men to leave
"their houſes to ſave their lives, which others were fain to
V. Thu. p. 397. "compound for with money, and others unfortunately loſt:
"All Churches eccho'd with voices of the Preachers, who
*Hence *Charles Steward* here. "aggravated the parricide committed by * *Henry Valois*, no
"longer called King of France, but the Heretick, Tyrant,
"and perſecuter of the holy Church; and all places were full
"of *Libels* both in verſe and proſe, which contained and am-
"plified the ſame things ſeveral ways. And the Council of
ſixteen, having prepared the Preachers to be ready, in caſe any
tumult ſhould ariſe, to appeaſe the people, *cauſe all the Coun-
ſellors of Parliament* and Officers who adhered to the King,
to be impriſoned in the Baſtille, as enemies to the publick good.
This done, they aſſemble a kind of *Rump Parliament*, which
ſubſtituting others in the place of thoſe they had ſecluded,
make a publick Declaration for the *depoſing of the King*, and a
new Decree and *Engagement of holy Union* for defence of
"the Catholick Religion, the ſafety of Paris, and other uni-
"ted Cities, to oppoſe thoſe who, having violated the publick
"Faith, had taken away the lives of the Catholick Princes,
to take juſt revenge for their murther, and to defend the liber-
ty and dignity of the States of France againſt all perſons
whoever, without exception, &c. And this was propoſed to
be ſworn to by all: whereupon there was preſently a general
engagement throughout the whole Kingdom, and for a *Head
of the Union* they make choice of the *D. of Mayenne* Brother
to the late D. of Guiſe, who at the requeſt of the Leaguers
come

comes to Paris, where a *Council of the Union* consisting of 40 of the chief Leaguers, whose Orders all are to obey upon pain of death, being instituted, he is by the Parliament declared Lieutenant-General of the State and Crown of France, and solemnly sworn to defend the Roman Catholick Apostolick Religion, the Royal State, the Authority of the Supreme Courts, the priviledges of the Church, and of the Nobility, the Laws and Customs of the Kingdom, &c. In the mean time to heighten and inflame the odium of the people against the King, nothing is omitted either in the Pulpit, or out of it, by slanders, calumnies, and false reports. And while among other devises they endeavour to represent him as a worshipper of Satyrs, and a Magitian, they exercise a kind of magick or witchcraft against him, devising religious execrations, and instituting strange superstitious rites, women and maids clad only in such fine linen that their bodies might be seen through it, and some carrying burning tapers in their hands, they sang over certain mysterious rithms with dissonant and confused tones and voices, and then suddenly extinguished their torches, as if they hoped or wished that the King's life should be thereby, or in like manner also extinguished; and a great deal such stuff too long to be here related. By these means were the people every where incensed and enraged against the King; but especially by the new Doctrines of the Preachers and Confessors were the minds of men generally so perverted, that they made it almost a sport to break Faith with him, and betray their trust, and many thought it their duty; so that the *Cities daily revolted* from his obedience. At Bourdeaux the Jesuites for a conspiracy and tumult raised there, were by the President of the Province expelled the City, to prevent the like for the future. And when from thence they repaired for refuge to Agen and * Vesuna, those Cities thereupon presently rebelled. But the greatest fury and rage of the people was at Tholouse, stirred up, as was believed, by these new Theologists. While the Leaguers are thus busy both at home and abroad, *the King* is not idle, but *treats with his Neighbour* Princes and States *for men and money*, and to mitigate the fury of his own people, with

Thu. l. 94. fin.

* *Vesuna Petrocoriorum.*

Thu. l. 95. pr.

Thu. l. 94.

with great importunity and ſubmiſſion, *ſolicits for abſolution* for killing the Cardinal, from the Pope, who was highly enraged againſt him, for that ſacrilegious act as he pretended, but probably more for killing the Duke, if that be true which the State of Venice, and the Dukes of Tuſcany and Mantua certified the King, that *the Pope and the Duke* had *agreed in ſecret* to marry the Pope's Niece to Prince Jonvil the Duke's Son, and to depoſe the King, thruſt him into a Monaſtery, and make the Duke King in his place. His *Ambaſſador* going about this affair to Rome, was by the way *admoniſhed by the Duke of Tuſcany*, that the King ſhould do well to truſt more to his own forces and ſtrength at home, than to the Pope's favour; for if things ſucceeded well with him in the beginning of thoſe commotions in France, he ſhould have friends enough at Rome, and among them the Pope himſelf; but if otherwiſe, he ſhould find them his bitter enemies. And ſo it proved, for when this proud and inſolent Pope, to gratifie his own pride and ambition, and magnify his authority in the opinion of the people, had drawn on the King and his Miniſters to do all acts of ſubmiſſion and baſe proſtration to him, as far as he could, he turned him off at laſt without any abſolution, and not not long after began to proceed to Excommunication againſt him. Wherefore *the King*, when he could obtain no favour from the Pope, *treats more openly with the King of Navar, and concludes an agreement with him*, to the no little joy of all ſober men, who thought there was no ſuch way for ſetling that Kingdom, as by this reconciliation of the King of France with Navar, the firſt Prince of the Bloud, the next Heir of the Crown, and an excellent General and Commander. Had he done this at firſt rather than ſo baſely and foully broak his Faith, he had certainly by God's bleſſing (which he might then with more reaſon have expected) prevented the growth of this faction of the League to this height, and moſt of this trouble to himſelf and his Kingdoms. But this now afforded new matter for the Preachers, and Writers to exaſperate the minds of the people withal. And the Pulpits ring, and the Preſſes ſweat with virulent Sermons and Books againſt the two Kings. Among thoſe who beſtirred

Thu. l. 95.

ſtirred themſelves in this kind, were Father Comolet the Jeſuit, Genebrard, Fr. Feu-ardentius, and Bucherus famous for his Book de Juſta Henrici 3 Abdicatione, and many others mentioned by our Author. And in their Sermons, beſides thoſe ways of moving the people by ſtirring up their paſſions of fear and hatred, they had another part to act, which was to encourage them to action by moving their hopes and expectations, and this was done by acquainting them with the victories and happy progreſs, and proſperous ſucceſs of their Armies and friends abroad, amplifying the fame as much as might be. And what-ever news came, whether good or bad, the Preachers were generally the publiſhers of it; if good, to magnify, and ſet it out to the beſt advantage; if bad, to repreſent it to the people as occaſion ſerved, partly comforting and encouraging them under the misfortune, and partly ſtirring them up to more forwardneſs, and greater aſſiſtance to the War. So that theſe matters were the general and ordinary ſubject of their Sermons. And beſides theſe good ſervices which they performed ſeverally, the famous *Colledge of Sorbon* it ſelf, by a publick Decree *order* that *the Kings name, and the Prayers* for him *be put out of the Canon of the Maſs*, and inſtead thereof, other Prayers for the Catholick Princes be inſerted, and that thoſe who ſhall ſay Maſs otherwiſe than by this Decree is appointed, ſhall be held for excommunicate, &c. And not to be wanting to the encouragement of his devoted Sons in ſo meritorious undertakings, their good Father *the Pope ſends out his Monitory* againſt the King, whereby he is excommunicate, unleſs within ten days he will do the Leaguers the kindneſs to ſet at liberty the Cardinal of Bourbon, whom they, having already agreed to the depoſing of him, may ſet up for their King; and moreover make his ſubmiſſion within the term of 60 days from the publication of the Monitory, which was poſted up in Rome the 23 of May, and within a few days after publiſhed at Meaux ten leagues from Paris. Theſe dealings of the Pope with the King ſeemed ſo hard and unreaſonable to *the Princes of Italy*, that they adviſed the King no longer to treat with him as a ſuppliant, but to deal with him according to his own rough nature,

Da. p. 811.

Thu. p. 430.

nature, and preſently to ſeize upon Avignon and the County
Da. p. 811. of Venieſſine. But the King was not a little grieved at it, and ſaid, "That he thought it very hard that he who had "ever fought and laboured for Religion ſhould be raſhly ex- "communicated becauſe he would not ſuffer his own throat "to be cut by the arms of his Rebel-ſubjects; and that thoſe
* Charles V. anno, 1527. "who had * ſacked Rome, and kept the Pope himſelf pri- "ſoner, had never been excommunicated: to which *the King "of Navar*, who was preſent, anſwered; but they were victo- "rious, Sir. Let your Majeſty endeavour to conquer, and be "aſſured the cenſures ſhall be revoked; but if we be overcome, "we ſhall all die condemned hereticks. Whereunto the King aſſented, and all the by-ſtanders did the like; and upon that hope order was given that the Army ſhould march; and the *Kings affairs began to proceed very proſperouſly* againſt the Leaguers. For having firſt by ſupplies coming in from the King of Navar put a ſtop to the D. of Mayenne's progreſs at Tours, and about the ſame time given a great defeat to the D. of Aumale by the aſſiſtance of La Noue (one of the chief
Thu. l. 96. Commanders of the Proteſtants) taken Gergeau, Piviers, Chartres, Eſtampes, Poiſſy, Montereau, Pontoiſe, and all ſuch places and paſſages of the Rivers which were fit to ſtrengthen the City of Paris, or furniſh it with victuals, he forthwith with an Army of 42000 fighting men laies cloſe ſiege to the City it ſelf, himſelf on the one ſide, and the King of Navar on the other; whereby the Pariſians were ſo ſtraitned and
Da. p. 814. dejected, (though the Preachers uſed all their arts in their Pulpits to animate them, and the Prieſts and Friers themſelves took up arms, putting themſelves generally upon Military Duty), that there was no man but thought that within a few days the King would be Maſter of it. But in the midſt of this ſucceſs, and height of his hopes, a zealous young Frier
† Da p. 816, 819. † *Jaques Clement*, ſtirred up by the Sermons which he heard daily againſt Henry Valois, the Tyrant and Perſecutor of the
Thu. l. 96. Faith, reſolved in conſcience, as hath been mentioned before, & exhorted thereunto by the Prior, (one of the chief Counſellors of the League) and other Fathers of his Convent,

(in all likelihood, not without the privity of the Catholick Princes), affirming to him that *if he lived, he ſhould be made a Cardinal; and if he died for freeing the City, and killing the Perſecutor of the Faith he ſhould without doubt be Canonized for Saint*, by an expected ſtab, put an end to his hopes and his life together, within * few days after the aforeſaid term of 60 days, prefixed by the Pope, (who had foretold his unfortunate end) was expired, to the great joy of the Leaguers and the Pope, as hath been related before, (Sect. 34.) this account of the French Story not being then intended. The † Prior of the Convent was *Father Edmond Bourgoin*, who being afterward taken at Paris, and convicted by witneſs to have publickly (in the Pulpit) for ſeveral days together praiſed this murder in ſtudied ſpeeches, and to have counſelled and inſtigated the murderer, comparing him alſo in his Sermons, after the fact, to Judith, and the dead King to Holofernes, and the City delivered to Bethulia; he was by judgment of the Parliament of Tours ſentenced to be drawn in pieces by four horſes, his quarters burned, and his aſhes ſcattered in the wind: which ſentence was afterward ſeverely executed. Not long after at Vendoſme was taken, and likewiſe condemned to death, *Father Robert Cheſſe a Cordelier* (or Franciſcan Frier), who had there publickly praiſed the King's murderer, and with his Sermons ſtirred up the common people.

It being unlikely that the chief men of the Union, and particularly the Prior, a truſty Counſellor of the Grand-Council of it, ſhould not have confered about the fact with the Princes, and with their privity exhorted, and with effectual motives ſpurred on the ſimplicity of the Frier. Da. p. 819. v. Thu. l. 96. Serres. *p.* 879.

* Duobus poſt mentibus & aliquot diebus, quam Pontifex hanc Sententiam excommunicationis tulerat. Cicarel. p. 446.

† Da. p. 857. Thu. l. 98.

Da. p. 861. Thu. l. 97.

54. This end had Henry 3. when he had ſcarce lived out half his days, and in him thus dying without iſſue, (after 14 years Marriage, many viſits to Saints, and the uſe of hallowed ſhirts and ſmocks for obtaining of iſſue), the whole life of Valois, his Baſtard brother alſo, the Duke of Angoleſme not eſcaping a violent death ſome years before by a ſtab. In this King, beſides the hereditary guilt of his Anceſtors deſcended upon him, there are *two things eſpecially obſervable* in his own actions, whereby he involved himſelf in the participation of

Thu. l. 85.

the common guilt of his Family, and aggravated the load of it upon his own head: the one during the Reign of his Brother, in the Maſſacre, wherein he was both a Counſellor and an Actor; the other after he came to the Crown himſelf, in his breach of publick Faith with the Proteſtants. Of both which we may obſerve a very correſpondent and exemplary judgment and puniſhment. His *ſickneſs of a* * *Bloudy-flux* for ſome time before he was ſtabbed, his *death without iſſue*, and *ere he had lived out half his days*, may perhaps have reſpect to his Grand-fathers and Fathers ſins, ſeeking by bloudy courſes to extirpate the Proteſtants; becauſe theſe were not peculiar to himſelf, but common to him with his other Brothers. But when we ſee that very *City of Paris*, where the Proteſtants, with the concurrence of his † counſel and aſſiſtance, had been ſo furiouſly deſtroyed, now no leſs *furious againſt him*; that City which to others had given example of cruelty againſt the Proteſtants, now gives them example of rebellion againſt him; and him on the other ſide no leſs enraged againſt it, ſaying but the day before that fatal ſtroke, that he hoped within a few days there ſhould be neither walls nor houſes, but only the very foot-ſteps of Paris: when we ſee almoſt all thoſe who had been *the executors of that Maſſacre*, and were not cut off at the Siege of Rochel, (as moſt of them were, of the common ſort eſpecially) now engaged *in Arms againſt him*; and thoſe who had joyned with him to deſtroy the Proteſtants, now conſpiring his deſtruction: when we ſee him *excommunicated by the Pope*, whoſe pretended authority is the principal part of that Religion, which with ſo much cruelty and perfidiouſneſs was ſought to be eſtabliſhed by that Maſſacre. Laſtly, when we ſee, after all imaginable injuries and indignities offered him, *his murder* not only *plotted* and counſelled by the chief of the Grand Council at Paris, but alſo *executed by an Emiſſary ſent from thence*, by a religious *Zealot of that Religion*, for which himſelf had been ſo barbarouſly cruel, and *in that* * *very place* at St. Cloud, where ſome time the Council of the Maſſacre had been held: This we may, not without reaſon, look upon as the juſt judgment of God upon him, for his wicked dealings in that barbarous

* Da. p. 777. Thu. l. 94.

† Eorumq; (Lotaringorum) in gratiam præcipuus author & ſuaſor Pariſienſis lanienæ fuiſſe creditur, de qua & gloriari ſæpius audirus eſt. Thu. l. 56.

* Thu. l. 51. Serres p. 789.

barous Maſſacre. Again, when we ſee *his Popiſh Subjects* every where *break faith with him*, and all bonds and oaths of Obedience and Fidelity to him, and teach and hold it to be their duty ſo to do: when we ſee them, through whoſe importunity he had violated the publick faith given to the Proteſtants, to rage and ſtorm, and furiouſly *exclaim upon his breach of faith* with themſelves: when we ſee him brought to *need and deſire the aſſiſtance of the King of Navar and his Proteſtants*, with whom he had broken faith, againſt thoſe for whom, to comply with their perfidious and rebellious humours, he did it; and by them notwithſtanding *thus brought to his end and murthered*, with whom he had ſo baſely complied in that perfidious dealing; this we may likewiſe with great reaſon look upon as a juſt judgment of God upon him, for that his perfidious dealing with the Proteſtants. And certainly, if all the circumſtances of the Hiſtory from that barbarous Maſſacre of the Proteſtants at Merindol and Cabriers, under Francis 2. to the death of this his Grand-ſon Henr. 3. the laſt of his race, *for* almoſt 50 years, be duly conſidered, it will be hard to find in any Hiſtory a more *eminent example of Divine Vengeance* proſecuting a Family to the utter extirpation of it, than this: an example wherein the judgment of God is more conſpicuous and remarkable, or the cauſes of that judgment more manifeſt and apparent, wherein the ſin and the puniſhment do more exactly agree; or of a more remarkable *diſtinguiſhing providence*, if with this, the hapy reign and actions of their neighbour Prince Queen Elizabeth be impartially compared. This was a judgment not upon one perſon alone, nor upon a Family, ſo as to involve all in one ſudden deſtruction, as is ſometimes ſeen; but a continued proſecution of vengeance againſt a whole Family for three generations, without intermiſſion: *the Grand-father* (Fran. 1.) not long enjoying himſelf or his life after he had authorized that fatal perſecution; *His Son*, Henr. 2. (having time to repent and reform, and admoniſhed ſo to do by his dying Father, but perſevering in his Fathers ſin) cut off by a violent death in the height and heat of his perſecutions againſt the Proteſtants, and upon his conſummation of an V. Sect. 39.

agreement for a War againſt them; *His four Sons* all living to be men, but not to halt the age of men; three of them coming ſucceſſively to the Crown, but ſo as rather only to wear the Crown, than, by a juſt and peaceable exerciſe of their authority, to ſway the Scepter, being at firſt over-ruled by the deceitful and pernicious counſels of their Mother and her Italians, and the violent courſes of the Guiſian Faction to deſtroy their ſubjects; and at laſt neceſſitated, by the bold attempts of the Guiſians, and fury of the Leaguers, to fight for Crown, Liberty and Life againſt them; whereby they and their Kingdom were continually embroiled in Civil Wars, and miſerable confuſions: each of them ſucceeding other, as in their acceſs to the Crown, ſo in their unhappy reign, (if they might be ſaid to reign, while ſo obnoxious to the wills of others, and continually imbroiled in ſuch confuſions) and exit and cataſtophre of it: *the firſt (Francis 2.)* cut off by a death remarkable, though not for the kind, yet for the time and ſeaſon of it, both in reſpect of his years, and of thoſe who were preſerved by it; (V. Sect. 40. p. 63, 64.) *the next (Charles 9.)* living ſome years longer, and thereby more capable, by his own perſonal management, of the affairs of the Kingdom, to derive the guilt of his Anceſtors miſcarriages upon himſelf, and increaſe it by his own, which accordingly he did in no mean degree, being likewiſe cut off by a death every way remarkable, in reſpect both of the time and all other circumſtances; and laſtly *the third Brother (Hen. 3.)* coming likewiſe to that unhappy end, which hath been but now related; all of them, with their Brother Alancon, dying without iſſue to ſucceed them. Nor did this fate attend only the ſucceſſion, but light alſo upon thoſe who were incapable to ſucceed in the Government; *their baſtard Brother* Angoleſme, who had been a forward actor in the Maſſacre, being alſo, as hath been ſaid, cut off by a violent death; and of *their Siſters, Elizabeth* the eldeſt * married to Phil. 2. of Spain, (a Marriage concluded, with an agreement between him and her Father, of a War againſt the Proteſtants, but ſolemnized with the otherwiſe untimely death of her Father), and by Philip her Husband firſt employed in the

* V. Sect. 39. p. 60.

Con-

* Conſultation at Bayonne, and at laſt brought to that † unhappy end when great with child, and in the 23 th. year of her age, which hath been mentioned before, and is more fully related in the late French Hiſtory of Dom Carlos: and *Margaret* the youngeſt, firſt forced by her Mother and Brother Charles to a Marriage with the King of Navar, (that unhappy Marriage which was made the introduction to the Maſſacre), afterwards for her * lewdneſs and incontinency reproachfully turned from the Court by her next Brother Henr. 3. and at laſt divorced from her Husband when King of France, without iſſue by him, unleſs ſhe had any by any other which was kept ſecret, as her Brother objected to her. If their other Siſter *Claud* married to Charles Duke of Lorain was leſs unhappy in this reſpect, ſhe ſeems leſs to have merited the like misfortune, for we meet with no mention of her in all the ſtory of theſe confuſions in France. Thus were five Kings in a continued ſucceſſion cut off, beſides three others of the ſame line, (the youngeſt ſon of Francis 1. in few months after the beginning of thoſe perſecutions, at his age of 23. and the ſecond and youngeſt of Hen. 2.) who never came to the Crown, and their whole line and poſterity extirpated in France, while they ſought the extirpation of the Proteſtants there; whereby the Crown at laſt, notwithſtanding all oppoſition and endeavours to hinder it, deſcended to a Proteſtant Prince; and all this by a conſtant courſe of Divine Vengeance upon that Family for about 44 years, for ſo long it was from the execution of the Decree of the Parliament of Province, Apr. 1545. and the death of the King's youngeſt ſon Sept. 8. following, to the murder of Henr. 3. Aug. 1589. the very ſame ſpace of time which *Queen Elizabeth* happily and proſperouſly reigned in England, and moſt of it contemporary. Wherein it is very plain and obſervable *a triple difference between her and them*, viz. a different cauſe, or end and aim of their actions, a different manner of proceeding, and a different ſucceſs. As to the *Cauſe*; they deſigned and endeavoured the ſuppreſſion of the reformed Religion, and extirpation of the Profeſſors of it in their territories; ſhe eſtabliſhed and promoted it in her Dominions.

* V. Sect. 42. p. 74.
† V. Sect. 44.
* V. Busbeq. ep. Aug. 27. 1583. Da. p. 599. Thu. l. 80.

As

As to their *manner of proceeding*; they ſought to attain their ends by fraud and violence, ſlaughters and inexecrable ſeverity, either without Law, or contrary to Law, or by executions exceeding in ſeverity the very rigour of the Decrees, Laws or Edicts againſt the Proteſtants; and all for no other cauſe but *their Religion*; a Religion which teacheth nothing diſhonourable to God or Chriſt, or injurious to man; which embraceth all that can reaſonably be proved to have been taught by Chriſt or his Apoſtles; receiveth, honoureth, and commends to the diligent ſtudy of all the ſacred Scriptures; ſuch a Religion, as they who perſecute it, confeſs to be true in what it affirms, and is the moſt eſſential part of their own, only believes not what they are not ſufficiently convinced to be true, and with no little reaſon ſuſpect to be falſe, or not propoſed to their belief by Divine authority. She did nothing without Law, or contrary to the Laws; was very moderate in making, and no leſs in executing any Laws againſt Papiſts: The firſt ſhe made in the firſt and fift years of her Reign, being ſo far from introducing any new ſeverity, that they take off from the harſhneſs of what was in force before; and thoſe and the reſt not being made againſt their Religion in general, but upon ſpecial and particular, neceſſary and urgent occaſions, for the neceſſary aſſerting and preſervation of her own juſt authority againſt thoſe who endeavoured to ſet up a pretended foreign juriſdiction againſt her, to abſolve her ſubjects from all duty and obligation of obedience to her, and excite them to rebellions, and to joyn with foreign enemies, or by aſſaſſination to deſtroy her; whereby ſhe was neceſſitated and forced, through their continual wicked, ſeditious and rebellious practices, for the curbing and reſtraining of them, to proceed, contrary to her own diſpoſition, to more and more ſeverities of Laws, which, though none of them made without juſt cauſe, and ſome ſpecial provocation, yet were executed with admirable moderation; the next, after thoſe above mentioned, which was made in the thirteenth year of her Reign, being occaſioned by the Northern Rebellion, and the Pope's Bull, to abſolve her ſubjects from their obedience; yet notwithſtanding in ſix whole years after was not put in execu-

V. Camd. an. 1577. p. 286.

execution againſt any one, though there were thoſe apprehended who had offended againſt it; and in ten years after that rebellion were there but five executed, till the further provocations before mentioned in the 29th. and following Paragraphs neceſſitated the execution of the Laws then in force, and the enacting of ſome others in the 23,27,29, and 35 years of her Reign; and yet did not the ſeverity which was exerciſed in all her Reign againſt Papiſts, equal what was done againſt the Proteſtants in two years of her Siſters Reign, and oftner than once, in few days in France, and profeſſedly for their Religion only, whereas it cannot be proved * that throughout her whole Reign there was any one executed meerly for their Religion. Such certainly was her lenity and moderation in this reſpect, conſidering the daily and high provocations againſt her, as plainly argues an admirable magnanimity and piety in her, and is ſcarce to be parallell'd in any Hiſtory, not to be denied but by ſuch as have caſt off all ingenuity and ſenſe of their own credit and reputation, and hath extorted the † confeſſion, and provoked the free acknowledgment of her more candid and ingenuous adverſaries. There might alſo be obſerved a great difference between the actions of the Proteſtants in France, and the Papiſts both here and there too, but that, for brevity ſake, ſhall be left to the Readers own obſervation from what hath been related of each. Therefore laſtly, as to their ſucceſs, they, while by fraud and violence they ſought the utter extirpation of the Reformed Religion, and Profeſſors of it in France, were themſelves extirpated there, and the laſt of their race cut off by his own Subjects of that ſame Religion, which by thoſe wicked courſes was ſought to be eſtabliſhed, and the Religion which they ſought to ſuppreſs and extirpate, took deeper root, and flouriſhed more, notwithſtanding all their oppoſition and perſecutions: She, while, with rare moderation, and a generous plain-dealing conſtancy and reſolution, eſtabliſhed the Reformed Religion, both eaſily and happily attained her end, and

* Sir Fr. Bacon in his Obſervations upon the Libel, point 3. and Collection of the Queens Felicities, and the late Treatiſe of the Grounds, Reaſons and Provocations neceſſitating the Sanguinary Laws, (Edit. Lond. 1664. quarto).

† V. Watſon, Widdrington, &c. apud Foulis, l. 7. c. 2. The Jeſuits Reaſons unreaſonable.

and was her ſelf eſtabliſhed in her Throne, and in a long, happy, and proſperous Reign, as long as all theirs from the beginning of their perſecutions, preſerved from all the ſecret plots, and machinations, and open rebellions, and aſſaults of her enemies, made victorious over all, and at laſt brought to her grave in peace, and in a good old age, leaving her Kingdoms in peace, and in a flouriſhing condition, and a bleſſed and glorious memory behind her; while they were cut off in the flower or middle of their age, and left their Kingdom embroiled in Civil Wars, Confuſion and Miſery, and an infamous memory of their no leſs unſucceſsful, than perfidious and barbarous actions.

55. Nor was *this diſtinguiſhing Providence* thus viſible only between her and thoſe who perſecuted the Reformed Religion, but alſo *between her and thoſe who deſerted* the ſame, as is to be ſeen in the next ſucceeding King of France, Henr. 4. (the greateſt part of whoſe Reign was contemporary with her), and in his Father before him *Antony King of Navar*, who being drawn in by the Pope's Legate and Guiſes, in hopes to recover his Kingdom of Navar, or ſatisfaction for it, to deſert the Proteſtants, and become Head of the Popiſh party, within the ſpace of about one year after, ended his life by a ſhot before Rouen. Had he lived longer, ſays * Perefix, the Hugonots had without doubt been ill dealt with in France. But having received his deaths-wound, he became more † ſolicitous for his own ſalvation than for his Kingdom, for which he had thus wavered in his Religion, and at laſt declared, that if he recovered, he would openly embrace the Proteſtant Profeſſion, and live and die in it. His ſon *Henry 4. of France* was bred up from his childhood in the Reformed Religion, and when he was grown up * profeſſed himſelf Head of that party, and ſo continued till his † *unhappy Marriage with a Popiſh Lady*, Margaret Siſter to Charles 9. then King of France, which, though for its warrant it had the ſpecious colour and pretence of confirming the Pacification, and begetting and eſtabliſhing a better accord between the two parties by ſo near an alliance between the two Heads of them, yet proved, as it was intended by the others, a ſnare to the deſtruction of the chief

1561. See before Sect. 41. p. 67.

* P. 22.

† Thu. l. 33.

* 1569.

† Thu. l. 45. 1572.

chief perſons, and of great numbers of the reſt of his own party; and to himſelf, not only unſucceſful in reſpect of his wife, and that not ſo much through her ſterility, as her inconſtancy and unfaithfulneſs to his bed; but alſo a ſnare, whereby, after he had ſeen the lives of his beſt friends, and of great numbers of innocent people of his own Religion moſt barbarouſly and inhumanely taken away, he was himſelf *forced*, for the ſaving of his own life, *to change his Religion*, in ſhew and appearance at leaſt. But this being by conſtraint, and Thu. l. 56. only in appearance, (for Religion (as was well perceived by Henr. 3. after he had received his deaths-wound) which is planted in mens minds by God, cannot be commanded or forced by men). Upon the firſt opportunity he *returned again* 1576. to the open profeſſion of that Religion, which in the mean time he retained in his heart, and conſtantly profeſſed and maintained the ſame till after *the deſcent of the Crown of France to him.* This happened *very ſeaſonable* for him *in many reſpects*, being then not a child or youth unexperienced in the World, 1589. but of mature age (about 35.) and firm judgment, well experienced in affairs both Military and Civil, of State and Government; being then reconciled to, and in perfect amity with the deceaſed King, who, upon his death-bed, acknowledged him for his lawful Succeſſor, recommended the King- Thu. l 69. dom to him, and exhorted the Lords there preſent to acknowledg him for their lawful Sovereign, notwithſtanding his Religion, and obey him accordingly; being then not in Bearn or the remoter parts of the Kingdom with ſmall or no forces, but before the chief City of it in the head of a great Army under his command, many of thoſe in the Army who diſliked his Religion, yet being, by the conſideration of his undoubted right, the recommendation of the deceaſed King, and their own freſh experience of his virtue ſince his coming to the Army, reconciled to his perſon, acknowledging his ſovereignty, and ſubmitting to his obedience, now not as General, but as their lawful and undoubted Prince. This was 20 years after he had firſt profeſſed himſelf Head of the Proteſtants, 13 years after he had again returned to the profeſſion of that Religion wherein he had been bred and educated; when he

had been all this while preſerved, notwithſtanding all the power of France againſt him, and had withſtood all the tentations which, after the death of Alancon, whereby he became next heir to the Crown of France, could invite him to change his Religion; and when, after all oppoſition, he was, as it were, led by the hand to the poſſeſſion of the Kingdom. Yet was he *not* ſo *entirely poſſeſſed of it*, but that there was ſtill matter and occaſion left him to make him ſenſible of that Providence which, having preſerved him all this while, had at laſt raiſed him to the Throne; and to exerciſe his dependance upon the ſame for the future, for his entire poſſeſſion of the Kingdom. He was, like David, after many and long trials, advanced to the Throne; but yet, like him, not preſently put into the full poſſeſſion of the Kingdom. For *the Leaguers*, who thought his being an Heretick, as they reputed him, was a ſufficient diſability to his right to the Crown, thought the ſame a ſufficient warrant for them to keep him from it, and to continue the rebellion againſt him which they had begun againſt his predeceſſor.

Thu. l. 98. Foul. 8. c. 7.

And to remove or prevent all ſcruple of Conſcience in that reſpect, *the Colledge of Sorbon* gave them their ſolemn reſolution, (May 7. 1590.) That they who oppoſed him ſhould merit much before God and Men, and if they reſiſted (ſo mindful were they of the Apoſtles Doctrine, Rom. 13.) to the effuſion of their bloud, ſhould obtain a reward in Heaven, and an immarceſſible or never-fading Crown of Martyrdom. And, leſt this ſhould not be ſufficient, they inſtitute *a Proceſſion*, which was made in the preſence of the Pope's Legate, Cardinal Bellarmine, and all the Biſhops who came with him from Italy, wherein Roſe Biſhop of Senlis, and the Prior of the Carthuſians holding in one hand a Croſs, and in the other a Halberd, led the Van, the Fathers of the Capucins, Foliacens, Paulians, Franciſcans, Dominicans, Carmelites, following in order, all accoutred, their Cowles hanging back upon their ſhoulders, and having on inſtead of them, Head-pieces, and Coats of Male; and after them the younger Monks in the ſame habit, but armed with Muskets, which they frequently and inconſiderately fired at thoſe they met, with a

ſhot,

ſhot whereof one of Cardinal Cajetans domeſticks was killed, who being ſlain at ſo religious a ſhew, was therefore held to be received into the bleſſed companies of the Confeſſors. After this was made another Proceſſion by the Duke of Nemours, and Claud Brother to the Duke of Aumale, who commanded the Infantry, and the reſt of the Officers of the Army, who upon the great Altar of the principal Church *renewed their League and Covenant*, and ſwore upon the Goſpel to live and die for *the cauſe* of Religion, and to defend the City againſt Navar. *The Pope* alſo, that this Rebellion might want no authority which his infallibility could give it, though there was no other ſcruple to his right and title but only his Religion, fought againſt him with both ſwords; by his Monitory againſt the Prelates, &c. who ſubmitted to his obedience by his Legate, Cardinals, and other Emiſſaries ſent to encourage the Rebels, and by his forces and mony, whereof in about 10 months time he waſted 5000000 of aureos, moſt upon the French War, when there was more need of it to have relieved the poor, who in the mean time died of famine at home: and Clem. 8. who not long after ſucceeded in that Chair, ſaid he was reſolved in himſelf to ſpend all his treaſures and bloud too, if there was need, to exclude Navar from his expected poſſeſſion of the Kingdom. Nor was their good ſon the Catholick *King of Spain* wanting to the promotion of ſo juſt a cauſe. And in *his own Army*, though many, otherwiſe of the Romiſh Religion, ſubmitted to him without any conditions or delay, and others were ſatisfied with his word and promiſe, (which his former faithfulneſs had made of great authority even with his enemies, v. Perefix, p. 112.) that he would refer all matters of Religion to a Lawful, General or National Council, and others with his Oath, yet many having more regard to their own private intereſt and concerns than to their duty, deſerted him, and either ſtood neuter to ſee which way the ſcales would turn, or turned to the Leaguers. Nevertheleſs, not only of the Nobility, Gentry and Laity, but alſo of the Clergy, Prelates, Arch-Biſhops, Biſhops and others, many were more ſenſible of their duty than either to be drawn with ſuch falſe, though ſpecious pre-

Thu. l. 102.

Thu. l. 103.

Thu. l. 97.

tences, or to be affrighted with the terrors of the Pope's pretended authority from it. And therefore when the Pope's Mandates were read in *the Parliament* which ſat *at Tours*, they made an Act of Parliament whereby the Monitorials made at Rome, Mar. 1. were declared *Nul, Abuſive, Seditious, to be damned, full of impieties and importures, contrary to the ſacred Decrees, Rights, Immunities, and liberties of the Gallican Church*, and it was decreed *that the Copies of them ſealed with the ſeal of Marſil. Landiranus, and ſigned by Sextil. Lampinetus, ſhould be by the common Hangman publickly torne, and burnt before the Palace Gates, &c. that Landiranus, who, pretending himſelf the Popes Legate, brought thoſe Mandates ſhould be apprehended, &c. and Gregory calling himſelf Pope the 14th. of that name*, was *declared an enemy of the publick Peace, of the Union of the Catholick Church, and of the King and Kingdom, a partaker of the Spaniſh Conſpiracy, a Favourer of Rebels, and guilty of the cruel, deteſtable and inhumane parricide treacherouſly committed upon the moſt Chriſtian and truly Catholick King Henr. 3.* And this was required to be publiſhed by the Arch-Biſhops and Biſhops through their Dioceſſes. The like was alſo done at Chaulm and Caen. The next day after this was *an Edict* made *in favour of the Proteſtants*, with the general conſent of all as neceſſary, publiſhed, whereby the Edict of July was revoked, and the former Edicts in favour of the Proteſtants reſtored. And very fair they were to have created a Patriarch of their own in France, which the Senate urged, but was oppoſed by the new Cardinal of Bourbon, a man of no worth, who was out of hope of being the man himſelf, and was a promoter of a new faction of the Thirdlings among the King's party, yet in thoſe things which concerned the Collation of Benefices, they gave that power to the Arch-Biſhop which the Pope had uſurped or pretended. The King in a ſpeech to a great Aſſembly of the Nobility and Officers of his Army, upon the death of the former King, had told them, that of thoſe things which, as they knew, his Predeceſſor had at his death recommended to him, this was the chief, *That he ſhould maintain his Subjects of the Roman Catholick, and of the Reformed Religion in equal liberty*, (æquabili in libertate)

Thu. l. 101.

Thu. l. 97.

till

till by the authority of a lawful Oecumenical or National Council ſomething ſhould be decreed concerning that difference, which he would religiouſly obſerve: and profeſſed before them all, *that he had rather that day ſhould be his laſt, than to do any thing whereby he might be ſaid to waver in his Faith, or to have renounced that Religion which hitherto he had profeſſed, before he ſhould be further inſtructed by a lawful Council, to whoſe authority he did ſubmit himſelf*: and therefore he gave free leave to thoſe who were not ſatisfied with this to depart, adding; *and when they have forſaken me, yet God will never forſake me, who, I call your ſelves to witneſs, from my childhood hath as it were led me by the hand, and heaped upon me great and unconceivable benefits. Nor did the beneficence of God toward David appear greater, or more miraculous, than when beyond the expectation of all through ſo many difficulties and dangers he brought me to the Throne; ſo that I ought not in the leaſt to doubt, but he who breaking through ſo many obſtacles hath called me to the Kingdom, will preſerve me in it, and defend me againſt all the aſſaults of my enemies, &c. I value not the Kingdom of France, no, nor the Empire of the whole World ſo much, that for the obtaining of them I would make any defection from that Religion, which as true I have from my tender years imbibed with my Mothers milk, and embrace any other faith than what, as I have ſaid before, ſhould be reſolved in a lawful Council.* The like confidence in God, with reſignation to his will, he afterwards expreſſed in a pious Prayer in the head of his Army before *the Battel of Ivry*, after which he obtained a very notable Victory over a much greater Army. Yet notwithſtanding, after all this, whether through the importunity of the Roman Catholicks of his own party, or the violence of his enemies, who were aſſembled to elect a Catholick King, which was much urged by the Pope and the King of Spain, he fell off from his conſtancy, and without the determination or inſtruction of any lawful General or National Council, *changed his Religion*, and at laſt alſo *ſubmitted himſelf to* the Pope. The report of this being brought to *Queen Elizabeth*, who had been very liberal in her aſſiſtance to him upon the ſcore of Religion, and was very ſolicitous for him, ſhe preſently diſpatched Th. Wilkes to know the

Da. p. 900. Perefix. p. 147. Thu. l. 98.

Thu. l. 106, 107.

Camden. an. 1593.

the truth of it, and if not already done, earneſtly with reaſons which ſhe ſent in writing to diſſwade him from it. To whom the King excuſed himſelf from the neceſſity of his condition; which he alſo did by Morlantius to the Queen her ſelf, with great offers of amity and kindneſs, calling her his Siſter, (as is uſual), whereat, being much grieved and troubled, ſhe preſently took her pen, and wrote the enſuing *Letter*, in what Language I know not, but thus in Engliſh out of the Latine in Camden.

Alas, how great grief, what a floud of ſorrow, what ſighs did I feel in my mind from thoſe things which Morlantius hath told me? O the faith of men! is this the World? Could it be that any earthly thing could drive the fear of God from you? Can we expect an happy iſſue of this deed? Or can you think that he, who with his right hand had hitherto ſuſtained and preſerved you, was now about to leave you? It is a thing very dangerous to do evil, that good may come of it. Yet the good Spirit, as I hope, will inſpire a better mind into you. In the mean time I will not ceaſe, in the firſt place of my Prayers, to commend you to the Divine Majeſty, and to beſeech him that the hands of Eſau may not ſpoil the bleſſing of Jacob. That you ſolemnly offer me your Amity, I know that I have indeed well deſerved it; nor truly would it repent me, had you not changed your * *Father. Certainly now can I not from thence be your Siſter by the Father. However, I (for my part) will always more dearly love my own, than our adſcititious Father; which God beſt knows, whom I beſeech to reduce you to the right path of a more ſound judgment.*

* This hath reſpect to his ſubmiſſion to the Pope, and to ſome paſſages wherein he called her Siſter, or himſelf her Brother.

Your Siſter if it may be after the old mode,

With the new will I have nothing to do.

ELIZABETHA R.

56. Thus this good Queen: but *the King* who had before looſened the ties of Conſcience for the ſaving of his life, and began now to break through the ſame for the ſatisfaction of his

his luſt, and the enjoyment of a † woman; it is no wonder if he did the ſame for the enjoyment of a Kingdom, which perhaps he might have better ſecured otherwiſe, and his life with it. It is true, he *never went ſo far as to perſecute the Proteſtants*, as his Predeceſſors in the Kingdom of France did, and his Father began to do, and perhaps had proceeded further, had he eſcaped that fatal wound; but while he took liberty to himſelf to change that profeſſion, gave them the liberty to retain and enjoy it, and under better conditions than ever they enjoyed, or were granted them before, which was a principal cauſe which made his Reign ſo much more proſperous and happy than theirs. Yet, as in thoſe two particulars, for his luſt, and for his Kingdom, he did forſake his Conſcience and Religion, ſo did God at laſt, after ſeveral fair warnings, forſake and leave him to the * ruine of his health, by the ſatisfaction of his luſts, the diſappointment of his counſels, by the treachery of the Jeſuits, and the loſs of his life by the hand of a zeal'ot of that Religion which he had choſen; whereas this bleſſed Queen who gave him this pious admonition, and her ſelf continued faithful to her God, and conſtant in her pious reſolutions to the laſt, was to the laſt bleſſed and preſerved, notwithſtanding all the Plots and Conſpiracies, Rebellions and Invaſions, and attempts of her enemies the Romaniſts againſt her. By this act of his he broke indeed the faction of the Leaguers, and ſo more eaſily quieted his poſſeſſion of the Kingdom, yet had he ſoon an occaſion to immind him how uncertain and ſhort his enjoyment of it was like to be, unleſs ſtill preſerved in the midſt of Peace by the ſame Providence by which he had been hitherto preſerved in his Wars, and advanced to it through ſo many dangers and difficulties. For within a month after his converſion to the Romiſh profeſſion, was apprehended an aſſaſin, *Peter Barrier*, who from place to place had followed him to kill him. This fellow had confered about it with a Carmelite and a Capuchin, who both encouraged him to it, and when he made ſome ſcruple by reaſon the King was turned Catholick, as he ſaid, he was confirmed in it by Chr. Aubre Curate of St. Andrea, who for his further confirmation led him to Varade Rector of the

† Gabrielle d'Eſtrees, v. Perefix, p. 194.

* V. Perefix, p. 400, 461, 462.

Thu. l. 107.

the Jeſuites Colledge, who eaſed him of all ſcruples, and further animated him to perform the undertaking, and when he had been confeſſed, and received the Sacrament in their Colledge, diſmiſſed him to that purpoſe. Having provided him a knife for the purpoſe, it was not long before he had an opportunity to have done it, but was ſtrangely reſtrained, being pulled back as it were with cords tied about his heart, as he afterward confeſſed. The like opportunities he often had at other places whither he followed the King for that purpoſe, but was by ſome little accident or other ſtill prevented, or had not the power to do it, though otherwiſe a fearleſs man. At laſt being diſcovered and apprehended, and brought to his trial, he confidently confeſſed the whole matter, railing upon the Sectaries and his Judges. Before his execution, he was ordered to be racked to make him confeſs his complices; but in the mean time it was thought fit to ſend ſome to him to admoniſh him of his error, whereof he was ſo throughly convinced by Oliver Barengarius, a Dominican, who had all along been of the King's party, that acknowledging his error, he reckoned himſelf happy that he was prevented from committing ſo great a wickedneſs as he intended, though by his own moſt miſerable death, deteſting his purpoſe, and thoſe who had perſwaded him to it, and told him *that if he died in the enterprize, his ſoul ſhould immediately be received by Angels into Heaven, there to enjoy an eternal happineſs with God*, and admoniſhed him, *that if he ſhould happen to be taken and tortured, he ſhould not name any of them who had perſwaded him to it, for then he muſt know he ſhould incur the pains of eternal damnation*: and before his execution he gave notice of two Prieſts, who at Lions had undertaken to kill the King, and, for the greater caution, deſcribed their perſons. This renewed the odium of the Jeſuits, who were reputed not only to have been the * firſt inventers of this miſchievous War, but alſo, what by their profane Sermons, what by the poiſon of their naughty Doctrine ſecretly in confeſſion inſtilled into the minds of the inraged people, to have expoſed, by a pernitious example, the ſacred perſons of Princes to be murdered by every one. The next danger of this kind which

* So Dav. in the S ory of Chaſtel, calls them the firſt authors and continual fomentors of the League, p. 1232.

which he was in came yet a little nearer to him, when in the Chamber of his † beloved Miſtreſs, happily at the inſtant, ſtooping to ſalute a Gentleman that came in, he received that ſtroke only at his mouth, and without greater hurt than the loſs of a tooth, which was deſigned at his heart by *John Chaſtel a Scholar of the Jeſuites*, who, through a flagitious life grown deſperate, hoped by ſo heroick an act for the cauſe of the Roman Catholick Religion, to merit, though not Salvation, whereof he deſpaired, yet ſome mitigation of his puniſhment, perhaps from the eighth degree to the fourth. He was educated and ſtudied in the Jeſuites School, and was aſſiſtant in Philoſophy to John Guerret a Prieſt of that Society; and though vitious above his age, yet was in eſteem with thoſe Fathers, who uſed to admit him among their choice diſciples, to their more ſecret conferences and religious exerciſes; and had often heard in that Society, that it was not only lawful to kill the King, but a thing much conducing to the cauſe of Religion, whereof it ſeems he was ſo throughly perſwaded, that notwithſtanding the terribleneſs of his execution, he expreſſed no ſigns of ſorrow or repentance; but on the contrary, being firſt put to the rack, gave out ſuch aſſertions as the Court declared ſeditious, contrary to the word of God, and condemned by the ſacred Decrees, and made it treaſon to repeat them. As he had before freely confeſſed, ſo when he was tortured he confirmed the ſame, that he was bred up in the Schools of the Jeſuites, and had often heard it diſcourſed, and diſputed, that it was not only lawful, but alſo meritorious, to kill Henry of Bourbon (the King) a relapſed Heretick, and often ſaid that he learned that Doctrine from them. Whereupon their Colledge being ſearched, among the papers of *F. John Guignard* were found many writings that taught that Doctrine, many things againſt the late King, and that praiſed the murder of him; and likewiſe againſt the preſent King, that perſwaded the killing of him, and tending to ſedition and parricide; *that it would be well done to thruſt Navar, though profeſſing the Catholick Religion, into a Monaſtery, there to do penance; if without war he cannot be depoſed, war is to be made againſt him; if war cannot be made, he muſt by any*

Thu. l. 111. † Perefix, p. 229.

Da. p. 1332.

means be taken out of the way, &c. all which he was convicted to have written with his own hand, and was therefore hanged. Also *John Gueret* the ordinary Confessor of Chastel, *F. Alexander Haye*, and *John Bell*, all of the same Society were likewise convicted of the like offences, but were condemned only to perpetual banishment and confiscation of their goods.

Thu. l. 37. 57. The *Society of the Jesuites*, to whom the Bishop of Clermont gave his house in Paris called Clermont house, from whence they were *called the Society of Clermont* by those who disliked their ambitious, arrogant appropriating to themselves the Title of Jesuites, as that which doth belong to all true Christians, was by the recommendation of Charles, Cardinal of Lorrain, (the Guisians always highly favouring this new Society), first *admitted in France* in the year 1550. by Henr. 2. of whom was obtained a Charter for them to build and erect a School at Paris, but there only, and not in other Cities. But when this Charter and the Pope's Bull of confirmation of their institution were brought into the Court to be allowed, and were read, the Parliament referred them both to the consideration of *the Bishop of Paris, and of the Colledge of Divines*. Whereupon they gave *their Sentence* in writing, to this effect; *That this new Society, by an insolent Title appropriating to themselves the name of Jesus, and so licentiously admitting any persons, howsoever illegitimate, facinorous and infamous, without any respect, and which nothing differs from other secular persons in Rites, Ceremonies, or rule of living, whereby the Orders of Monks are distinguished; moreover, is endowed with so many Priviledges, Liberties and Immunities, especially in the Administration of the Sacraments, to the prejudice of the Prelates, and of the Sacred Order, and also even of the Princes and Lords, and to the great grievance of the people, contrary to the Priviledges of the University of Paris; seems to violate the honourableness of the Monastick Order, to enervate the studious, pious, and necessary exercise of Virtue, Abstinence, Ceremonies and Authority; and also to give occasion to others to forsake their Vows, to withdraw their due Obedience from the*

the Prelates, unjustly deprive the Lords, both Ecclesiastical and others, of their rights; to introduce great disturbance in the Civil & Ecclesiastical Government, Quarrels, Suits, Dissentions, Contentions, Emulations, Rebellions, and various Scissures, that for these causes, this Society seems very dangerous in respect of Religion, as that which is like to disturb the Peace of the Church, to enervate the Monastick Discipline, and to tend more to Destruction than to Edification. This so startled the Society, that they desisted from any further prosecution till the Reign of Francis 2. When the Guisians, who highly favoured this new Society, carrying all before them, they resumed the business again, and first *the Bishop of Paris*, Eust. Bellaius, was required to give *his Sentence*, which he did in writing; *That that Society, as all new Orders, was very dangerous, and at these times instituted rather to stir up Commotions, than to make up the Peace of the Church*; and after a sharp censure of their arrogant stile, adding, *that in the priviledges granted to it by Paul 3. are many things repugnant to the Common Law, and prejudicial to the power and authority of the Bishops, Curates, and Universities, and therefore it would be more advisable, that since they are by the Pope appointed and bound to instruct the Turks and Infidels, and publish the Gospel among them, yet in places which are near to them they should have their Colledges assigned, as heretofore the Knights of Rhodes had in the borders and out skirts of the Christians.* This and the other sentence being ready, and considered by the King in Counsel, the Court notwithstanding, through the instigation of the Cardinal of Lorrain, was commanded to publish as well the Pope's as the King's Charter, without any regard to the intercession of the Bishop and Colledge of Divines; and the Jesuites exhibited a supplication to the Court, whereby they subjected themselves to the Common Law, and renounced all priviledges contrary to it. But the Parliament thought fit rather to remit the whole business to a General Council, or to a Convention of the Gallicane Church. And at a great meeting of the Bishops at the Conference at Poisy, they were *admitted to reach*, but under many *conditions* to change their name, be subject to the Bishop of the

Dioceſs, & to do nothing to the prejudice of the Biſhops, Colledges, Curates, Univerſities or other Orders, or their Juriſdiction and Function, but be governed according to the preſcript of the Common Law, and renounce all contrary priviledges, &c. Hereupon was opened Clermont School at Paris. But when this liberty was interrupted by the whole Univerſity of Paris, the buſineſs was *again brought before the Parliament*. The Univerſity having before adviſed with *Carolus Molinæus, his Conſultation* or opinion and reſolution of the Caſe, which was afterwards publiſhed, was, that the Univerſity had good cauſe to declare againſt them for a Nuſance, becauſe they had erected a new Colledge contrary to the ancient decrees of Synods, the General Council under Innocent 3. the Decrees of the Court, &c. their Inſtitution was not only to the detriment of the ſeveral Orders, but to the danger of the whole Kingdom, and every wiſe man might juſtly fear that they might prove ſpies, and betray the ſecrets of the Kingdom; they ſeemed to be inſtituted to lie in wait for the eſtates of dying people; they ſet up a new School in a Univerſity, to which they would not obey, which was not only monſtrous, but a kind of ſedition, &c. And it was argued on both ſides in full Parliament, by Pet. Verſorius for the Society, highly commending their Original and Inſtitution, and by *Steph. Paſquius* for the Univerſity, as much condemning both their Inſtitution and their Practice: '*their* '*Inſtitution*, in reſpect of *their obligation by vow* both *to their* '*General*, who is always choſen by the King of *Spain*, and '*whom* they profeſs to reſpect as God preſent upon earth, '*and* promiſe a *blind Obedience*, as they call it, *to him*, abſo'lutely in all things; and *to the Pope*, to whom, becauſe they 'are ſo obſequious, they ought ſo much the more to be ſuſpe'cted by the *French*, who indeed acknowledge the Pope as 'Head and Prince of the Church, but ſo as that he is bound 'to obey the ſacred Decrees and Oecumenical Councils as in'ferior to them; that he can decree nothing againſt the 'Kingdom, or their Kings, or contrary to the Decrees of the 'Court (of Parliament), or in prejudice of the Biſhops with'in their limits; and therefore to admit thoſe new Sectaries,

'would

'would be to nouriſh ſo many enemies within the bowels of 'the Kingdom, who, if it ſhould happen that the Popes in a 'fury ſhould raiſe arms againſt us, would denounce war 'againſt the King and Nation of France: alſo in reſpect of 'their unreaſonable and *exorbitant priviledges* contrary to the 'Common Law; and of their *ambitious Title*: their *Pra-* 'ctice, for corrupting of youth, and ruining of Families; and 'laſtly, addreſſing himſelf more eſpecially to the Senators, he 'admoniſhed them to beware that they did not, when too 'late, condemn their own credulity, when they ſhould ſee 'through their connivance, that the publick tranquility not 'only in this Kingdom, but through the Chriſtian World, 'ſhould be endangered by the craft, guiles, ſuperſtition, diſſi- 'mulation, impoſtures and evil arts of theſe men. But the Senate, whether through ſecurity, or hatred of the Proteſtants, whom theſe men were believed born to ſubdue, determined to deliberate further on the buſineſs, in the mean time granting them liberty publickly to open their Schools and in- 5 Apr. 1565. ſtruct the youth. And here we may take notice by the way, who were the firſt and chief favourers and *introducers of the Jeſuites*, and thence further obſerve whoſe Scholars they were, who were the *chief actors in thoſe troubles* in France. But thus hung the cauſe till, after the diſcovery of Barrieres Apr. 1594. conſpiracy, the Univerſity with unanimous conſent *nemine* Thu. l. 110. *reclamante* renewed their Suit, and prayed Judgment, by their *ſupplication to the Parliament*, wherein they *ſet out*, 'that the Eſtates in the Senate had long ſince complained of 'this new Sect, that great confuſions were then raiſed by 'them in the diſcipline of the Schools; that from that time 'they have given occaſion of greater troubles, ſince the fa- 'ctious did openly addict themſelves to the Spaniards party, 'and have confounded not only the City but the whole 'Kingdom with horrid ſeditions; that this was prudently 'foreſeen from the beginning by the Colledge of Divines, 'who by their Decree declared this new ſect to have been in- 'troduced to the deſtruction of all Diſcipline as well Civil 'as Eccleſiaſtical, and namely denying the obedience of the 'Univerſity, as well to the Rector of it, as moreover to the

Arch-

'Arch-Biſhops, Biſhops, Curates and others the Prelates of 'the Church; that notwithſtanding thoſe Jeſuites made ſup-'plication to the Senate to be incorporated into the Univer-'ſity, and the cauſe being heard the Senate ſuſpended the 'the Suit, *Salvo partium jure*, ſo that nothing in the interim 'ſhould be innovated in the cauſe in prejudice of the De-'cree; that yet the Jeſuites have not only not at all obeyed 'the Decree of the Court, but forgetting their ſacerdotal pro-'feſſion have thruſt themſelves into publick buſineſſes, car-'ried themſelves as ſpies for the Spaniards, and managed 'their concerns: and therefore *pray*, that ſince all theſe things 'are openly and publickly known, the Senate will interpoſe 'their authority, and by their Decree command that Sect to 'depart not only from the Univerſity of Paris, but out of the 'Kingdom, and exterminate them thence. Hereupon, after various delays by the Jeſuites, *the cauſe came again to an hear-ing* in the Parliament, not openly, but at the inſtance, and through the importunity of the Jeſuites and their friends, the dores being ſhut. And *Ant. Arnald* of Counſel for the Univerſity, deploring the condition of France heretofore for-midable, but of late become deſpicable to all through facti-ons, which factions have been cauſed by the Jeſuites, largely confirmed from experience of what had ſince been acted, the truth of what was wiſely foreſeen and foretold ſo many years before. 'That the Emperor *Charles* 5. when, fortune 'favouring him, he conceived hopes of obtaining and tranſ-'ferring to his Family a univerſal Monarchy, and by his own 'ſagacity and long experience found that many were tied up 'by ſcruples of conſcience; could not deviſe a more effectual 'means to work upon them, than by introducing men of the 'Spaniſh deſign (the Jeſuites) to the deſtruction of others un-'der ſhew of Religion, who in ſecret at confeſſions, and 'openly alſo when occaſion ſhould be offered, in their Sermons, 'alienating the credulous and ſimple people from the obedi-'ence of their lawful Governors, ſhould inſenſibly draw them 'to his party. That the principal *Vow* of theſe men is, to 'be abſolutely and in all things obedient to *the General of 'their Order*, who for the moſt part is a Spaniard, or ſubject

of

'of Spain, as appears from the ſeries of thoſe who for theſe 50 years from the beginning of their Society, have been their 'Generals; for ſuch were, 1. Ignatius Loiola their founder, '2. Jac. Lain, 3. Enariſtus, 4. Fr. Borgia, and, 5. at preſent 'Cl. Aquanina: that to *their vow* theſe horrible words are 'annexed, in which they profeſs to acknowledge Chriſt as 'preſent in their General: that their Sect, whereas in Italy 'and France at the beginning it was generally oppoſed, was 'with great applauſe approved in Spain; they pray day and 'night for the ſafety and proſperity of the pious, prudent, 'vigilant Catholick King of Spain, who oppoſeth himſelf a ſa'wall of defence for the houſe of God & the Catholick Faith; 'but for the moſt Chriſtian King of France never: and let 'the F. General ſay the word that the King of France ſhould 'be killed, the command of the Spaniard muſt ex voti ne'ceſſitate be obeyed. That though upon their petition at 'Rome for the Popes Confirmation an. 1539. they were at 'firſt oppoſed, yet at laſt obtained it, this *fourth vow* being 'added to it, that they ſhould be ready to obey the Pope at 'a beck, which is that which doth ſo much ingratiate them 'at Rome, but ought to make them ſo much the more ſuſpe'cted in France. And that *their Counſels tend to the ſubver'ſion of the Kingdom* is hence manifeſt, that when ever the '*Popes exceeding their authority*, have ſent out their cenſures 'againſt the Kingdom of France, there have not been wanting 'pious men, who with the common ſuffrage of the Gallican 'Church, have couragiouſly oppoſed ſuch their raſh attempts, '(as he ſhews more at large from divers inſtances in the times 'of Carolus Calvus, Ludovicus Pius, Philippus Pulcher, Ca'rolus vi, and Ludovicus xii.) but now in theſe late tumults 'it hath fallen out quite contrary, the ſacred Order being 'corrupted with the venom of this ſect, and taught, *that he 'who is once choſen Pope, although of the Spaniſh Nation or Fa'ction, and a ſworn enemy to the French, may notwithſtanding 'give up the whole Kingdom for a prey, and abſolve the French 'from their Faith and Obedience which they owe to their Prince.* 'That this is a ſchiſmatical and deteſtable opinion, altogether 'contrary to the word of God, (who hath divided the ſpi-

'ritual

'ritual power from the ſecular as far as Heaven is from the 'Earth) and as much repugnant to the ſafety and conſerva- 'tion of Kingdoms, as it is certain that the true Chriſtian 'Religion is neceſſary thereunto. That theſe monſters have 'kindled theſe furies in the minds of the French, and excited 'ſo many ſlaughters and horrid confuſions every where.

V. ſupra ſect. 41. p. 66. 'Hence that publick aſſertion of Tanquerellus 33 years ſince, '*that the Popes may declare the King's ſubjects free from their* 'Oath of Fidelity. Hence that reſolution 5 years ſince, by 'the greater number of the Colledge of Sorbon, that is, thoſe 'who were new moulded in the ſhop of the Jeſuites, *that*

V. ſect. 53. '*Subjects may be abſolved from their Obedience to their Prince.* 'That this Vow inſtituted by the Caſtilians (of Spain), which 'with ſo ſtrait a tye binds mens conſciences to the perpetra- 'ting of any kind of enterprize, and to the killing of Kings 'themſelves by ſuborned emiſſaries, hath diſſolved and wholly 'aboliſhed the glorious inſtitutes of our Anceſtors, the Laws 'of the Realm, and the liberties of the Gallican Church: 'whereas we have received this Law from our Anceſtors, 'that the Oath of Fidelity, whereby the Subjects of France 'are obliged to their Kings, can by no cenſures of the Popes 'be diſſolved; which is ſo conjoyned with the ſafety and 'weal of the Kingdom, that without certain ruine it cannot 'be ſevered from it: that the Royal Power in that ſuffers no 'rival, nor admits any equal Juriſdiction. That theſe emiſ- 'ſaries and aſſertors of this exceſſive power in the Pope crept 'in inſenſibly at firſt in ſmall numbers into France, but in 'ſhort time filled the whole Kingdom, and with ſecret frauds 'and ſeditious Sermons have ſtirred up the wars. That the 'firſt Conſpiracies, more pernitious than the Bacchana's and 'that of Cataline, were hatched in their Colledge at Paris; 'that the Spaniſh Agents did often ſecretly convene there; 'that there the Nobility at their ſecret Confeſſions were en- 'joyned for the expiation (or ſatisfaction) of their ſins, to 'engage for the League, (viz. by a ſpecial commutation of 'penance into an heroick act of virtue) and thoſe who re- 'ſuſed were denied the benefit of abſolution. That by them 'was the ſedition at Veſuna ſtirred up, and the rebellions at

'Agen,

'Agen, Tholouſe, &c. and the Spaniſh Souldiers brought into 'Paris; that by their counſel the Council of xvi emboldned 'by the forein Forces, offered the Kingdom of France to the 'King of Spain, and 13 daies after enſued that deteſtable 'butchery of the principal Senators. That at their Schools 'at Lions and afterward at Paris was made the late Conſpi-'racy for the murder of the King, as is atteſted by the con-'feſſions of Barriere; for among them they are held for 'real Martyrs, who lay out their lives for the killing of 'Kings. Hence F. Commotet the laſt Chriſtmas, taking 'for his text out of the book of Judges the example of Ehud, 'who ſlew the King of Moab, and fled away, cried out, We 'have need of another Ehud, whether Monk, or Souldier, or 'Lacquey, or Shepherd it matters not. Hence the furious 'ſpeeches of Bernard and Commotet, calling the King Olo-'fernes, Moab, Nero, Herod, and every where bawling in 'their Sermons that the Kingdom may be transferred by 'Election, &c. That among theſe counterfeit Prieſts it is 'a ſymbol of their profeſſion, *One God, one Pope, and one King 'of the Chriſtian World*; meaning the Catholick King, to 'whom they deſign the univerſal Monarchy of the whole 'World, ſtirring up every where wars and rebellions, that 'thereby the vaſt body of that Empire may grow up and 'devour the leſſer Princes. That by them, Philip King of 'Spain, when he had long gaped after the Kingdom of Por-'tugal, and foreſaw that ſo long as the King and Nobility 'continued in ſafety, he could not obtain his deſires, perſwa-'ded the young King Sebaſtian, having removed his inti-'mate and faithful friends from him, to ſail into *Affrica*, and 'raſhly engage in fight upon great diſadvantage, contrary 'to the opinion of all his party, wherein himſelf and almoſt 'all the flower of the Portugal Nobility periſhed. Nor did 'they ceaſe till they had alſo ruined Don Antonio, and till 'the King of Spain * not ſo much by his Arms, as by their 'Arts, had made himſelf Maſter of the Kingdom. Nor 'ought it to impoſe upon the credulous, that they are vulgar-'ly reputed ſerviceable for the † inſtruction of *youth*, whoſe 'manners they rather *corrupt*, inſtilling evil principles into

* V. Harlæum apud Thu. l. 132.

† V. Sim. Marion. apud Thu. l. 119.

'their tender minds, which in that age make the greater impression upon them, and under a shew of Piety teach them 'to embrue their hands in their Princes bloud, to be disobedient to Magistrates, to stir up seditions among the people, 'to cast off all affection to their own Country, and be affected with an adulterous love to foreigners: and being thus 'seasoned with pernitious errors, they will in time, when 'grown up, bring the same into the Church and State. And 'indeed already, since this new sect hath as it were seized upon the youth, the manners of our Ancestors have, not by 'degrees insensibly degenerated, but like a torrent been precipitated into corruption. Nor have whole *Families* escaped *ruine* by them, by their arts youths being enveigled from 'their Parents, and the inheritances and estates of their Ancestors transferred to these new Lords. The complaints 'and examples of divers Noble Families thus spoiled are 'known, as of Petrus Ærodius, Mombrunius, Godranus, Bollonius, Largilactonius, the Marques Canilliacus, whose 'Brother was not admitted to his vow in that Society, till 'they were certain of his succession to his elder Brothers 'Estate. And for this purpose they have now *their Book of* '*Life*, as they call it, wherein they describe the secrets of Families, which they learn from confessions. These things and much more having largely discourfed, in conclusion he urges the necessity of a speedy remedy, and therefore prays that according to the supplication, the Jesuites may be decreed to depart the Kingdom within 15 days after denunciation to the several Schools. Some days after was *Ludovicus Dolæus* Id. Jul. 1554. heard for the Curates (or Ministers) who also became Plaintiffs in the Suit, who among many other things urged, 'That 'by the Popes were *many things inconsiderately and blindly* '*granted them:* by Paul, 3. Power to make new Statutes, and 'to change those which their Founder had established; also 'to absolve hereticks, which, if the Pope contend, is more 'than the whole Gallican Church can do. By Paul, 4. To 'absolve penitents from all kind of crimes, even those which 'are not comprehended *in Bulla Cœnæ Dominicæ*, and from 'those also which the holy See hath reserved to it self, and

'*pro*

'*pro tempore* to commute vows and pilgrimages, &c. by Jul. 3. to 'give indulgence from fasts and prohibited meats. Lastly by 'Greg. 13. to converse with sectaries, and for that purpose 'to wear secular habits, (viz. for a disguise) a thing prohi-'bited by the S. Canons; and to correct all kind of Books, 'and so to mend the writings of the Fathers, wherein what 'Plagiaries they have been, is known to them who converse 'with Books; that from thence have great confusions been 'brought into the Church, and the Discipline generally been 'dissolved; for by the Breve of Paul 3. the people are allow-'ed to leave their own Pastors, and run after them, and to re-'ceive the Sacraments from them; to whom Greg. hath com-'mitted (authority) to animadvert as well upon the Clergy 'as the people, that all may be done rightly, and after the 'Roman mode; so that from Priests, whether regular or se-'cular it is uncertain, they are suddenly become universal Pa-'stors of the people, or rather wandering vagabond Bishops, '(*Periodentas & circumcelliones & hamaxarios Episcopos*) that 'there is nothing which they cannot now do at Rome, where 'they are called *the Popes eyes*; (mentis Pontificiæ oculi): that '*their Principles* are inconsistent with the French: that it is 'certain that to them is principally given in charge that they 'should oppress the Gallican liberty, at first by guile, and af-'terwards with open force, even as in these last wars they 'have endeavoured to do; that with them they are reckoned 'anathema who take the Kings part, but that the French 'think the contrary, and that not to obey the King is as to 'resist God, and to fight against Heaven: that they think 'that the Pope may excommunicate Kings and People when 'he pleaseth; but the French on the contrary hold them for 'Sectaries who think that the Pope may interpose his autho-'rity in any difference of State: that they attribute to the 'Pope an infinite power over all Kingdoms, and set him above 'the Church, above Councils, and in fine, make his power 'equal to his will, (to do what he please): but the French 'hold his power to be finite, or limited. And for *their good* '*deeds and practices*, that Claud Matthew, a ring-leader of 'the faction, whom Henr. 3. had familiarly used in his pri-

'vate devotions, and who therefore was well acquainted with 'his piety (and devotion to the Rom. Cath. Religion) with 'great impiety and ingratitude went to Rome, and would 'have perſwaded Greg. 13. to have excommunicated him, 'unleſs he would comply with the leaders of that pernitious 'faction, which being denied by him, was after his death ob-'tained of his ſucceſſor Sixtus: that Varada of the ſame 'ſociety confirmed Barriere in his purpoſe to kill the King, 'when he made ſome ſcruple at it; that they confeſs as much, 'but with frivolous cavillation ſeek to excuſe it. Nor are 'theſe the faults of ſingle perſons among them, foraſmuch as 'it is a uſual thing (or conſtant cuſtom) with them, when 'they have any enterprize in hand, to confer together about 'it, &c. that by their occult art of *prying into ſecrets* they 'have by little and little inſinuated themſelves into the minds 'of the ſimple, and acquired a dominion in their conſciences. 'Whereof there is a freſh example in the five (Popiſh) Can-'tons of *the Switzers*, whom when the Jeſuites had in vain 'attempted to draw them from their League with the other 'Cantons of the Proteſtants, made for their common ſafety, 'they, leaving the men, like the ſerpent which deceived our 'firſt Parents, ſet upon the women, and perſwaded them not 'to lye with their Husbands till they had broken off the 'League. But the *Switzers* diſcovering the fraud, ſhewed 'themſelves men, and handled the Conſpirators according to 'their deſert. The *Venetians* likewiſe, whoſe Juſtice and 'Prudence the duration of their State doth eaſily evince, ſaw 'as much, and being warned by our example, they did not 'indeed thruſt them out of their Territories, for how could 'they do that, being ſo near neighbours to the Pope? but 'did maturely ſhut them up within their own incloſures, and 'interdicted them the hearing of confeſſions. And how 'powerful they are among us by theſe means, they openly 'profeſs, and glory in it in their letters to their General. But 'thus is the diſcipline (of the Church) overthrown, and (con-'trary to the prudent prohibition of the Council of Nants, 'the ſaying of St. Aug. *Neminem digne pœnitere poſſe, quem non ſuſtineat unitas Eccleſiæ*: the judgment of the ancient 'Chriſtians,

Yet they ſince did it, an. 1607. v. l. 137.

'Chriſtians, who condemned Audius for making ſeparation 'in the Church) the people ſeduced from their own Paſtors 'are adulterouſly allured to communion in ſacris with them 'apart from others, and at laſt ſtirred up to rebellion againſt 'their Prince, and emiſſaries ſuborned to murder him. Their 'conſpiracies are well known againſt Prince Maurice, which 'at laſt took effect; and in England thoſe of Parry, Cullen, 'York, Wikiams; in Scotland thoſe of James Gordon and 'Edmond Hay; and with us that ſo often mentioned of 'Barriere. But among the ancient Chriſtians theſe monſters 'were unheard of. Of the Chriſtians was no Caſſius, no Ni-'ger, no Albinus, as Tertullian ſpeaks. Nor was that crime 'ever heard of in France till the coming in of the Jeſuites. 'For it was brought in by them from Spain, whence they 'had their original, where the Gothes, as an ancient Author 'informs us, took up this deteſtable cuſtom, that if any of 'their Kings pleaſed them not, they put him to the ſword, 'and ſet up whom they pleaſed in his place. On behalf of the Jeſuites Cl. Dureus rather pleaded in bar of the action, than ſpoke to the merits of the cauſe; but P. Barnius anſwered more copiouſly in writing. But, as much of what was ſpoken by the others is here purpoſely omitted for brevity ſake, ſo thoſe things particularly which I find anſwered by him, except that of Portugal, which notwithſtanding his anſwer, ſeems very probable, as well agreeing with their principles and actions, though ſuch myſterious practices are not eaſy to be fully proved. And thus ſtood the caſe with the Jeſuites in France, when the King was about to * proclaim war againſt their great Patron the King of Spain: and whether the particular conſideration of theſe or either of theſe, to prevent what they feared might be the conſequence of them † did produce that attempt of their Scholar Chaſtel, or not; for he was more deeply ſeaſoned with their principles and inſtructions than to make a full confeſſion, yet certain it is that that attempt did produce a more ſpeedy determination of the cauſe than could otherwiſe have been expected, by a Decree, whereby the Court did ordain *that the Prieſts and Students of the Colledge of Clermont* (for they would not call them

* Which was done 17. Jan.

† V. Perefix, 229.

29 Dec. 1594. Thu. l. 111.

them by the name of Jeſuites) *and all others of that Society, as corrupters of Youth, perturbers of the publick Tranquillity, and enemies of the King and Kingdom, ſhall within three days after denunciation depart from Paris and all other Cities where they have opened School, and within fifteen days after out of the Kingdom, upon pain to be proſecuted as guilty of Treaſon; and that their Goods and Lands ſhall be imployed for pious uſes, and be diſtributed at the pleaſure of the Court; and all the Kings Subjects were interdicted to ſend their children to the Schools of that Society out of the Kingdom to be inſtructed in Learning, upon pain of Treaſon.* This was executed the Sum-
Li. 112. mer following. Some few days after this, was made another Decree, whereby Chaſtel's Father's houſe, which was neer to the Palace, was ordered to be pulled down, and a Pyramid to be erected in the place of it, with the Decree inſcribed upon it ad æternam facti memoriam; which was likewiſe done,
V. l. 134. with other inſcriptions in deteſtation of the crime.

58. How neceſſary for the ſafety both of the King and Kingdom this was, and that the Decree ſhould be ſtrictly executed throughout the whole Kingdom, and duly and conſtantly obſerved for the future, many in the Court, and moſt in the Parliament of Paris, and of the Clergy, were very ſenſible, and the King could not be ignorant, eſpecially after ſuch fair warnings. And yet, whereas *the Jeſuites*, be-
Thu. l. 129. ing by virtue of this Decree exterminated out of the Juriſdictions of the Court of Paris, which extends to near half the Kingdom, and likewiſe of Burgundy and Normandy, continued notwithſtanding for three years after to keep up their Schools in the Territories of Tholouſe and Bourdeaux, to which many ſent their Sons to be taught, and many again from that Society, changing their habits as if they had alſo renounced their vow, crept into other Schools; though the King was often importuned to command thoſe Courts by his Edict to publiſh the Decree, and it was once or twice ſo reſolved in Council, the execution notwithſtanding was continually retarded by the craft and ſubtilty (ſaith our Author) of ſome about the King, but perhaps ſome thoughts of a peace with Spain, which had been propoſed, might make it thought

thought unſeaſonable at that time. But the Parliament of Paris was not wanting to do what in them lay, and by *another Decree*, under a ſevere penalty prohibited all Cities, Colledges and Univerſities to admit any of that ſociety, though pretending the renunciation of their vow, to preach, or to exercife any ſacerdotal Miniſtery, or to teach children either publickly or privately. The year following the King was again provoked through the obſtinacy and inſolency of the Court of Tholouſe, to ſend out his Edict commanding thoſe Courts to publiſh the Decree, and was moved by the Chancellor Ph. Huraltus Cevernius ſo to do, but by ſome Courtiers, ſays our Author, the buſineſs was at preſent delayed, and at laſt wholly put off; and very likely was now alſo though unſeaſonable in reſpect of the King's deſire to obtain a diſſolution of his Marriage with the Queen Margaret, that he might marry his beloved Miſtreſs La belle Gabrielle, whereof he began about this time to treat with the Pope's Legate. And indeed, though I know not whether ſo much be written by any, yet it ſeems very legible in the actions and occurrences which are written, that this was ſo powerful a motive with him, as made him not only deſiſt from further enforcing the execution of the Decree, and total extermination of the Jeſuites, but on the contrary to yield to *their Reſtitution*. For the Jeſuites about this time taking occaſion upon a Convention of the Clergy to offer him a ſupplication, ceaſed not afterwards till by ſupplications and recommendations every where ſought, they at laſt obtained their deſire, the Pope's Legates ſparing no pains on their behalf. So our Author, who afterward tells us, that when Ignatius Armandus their Provincial, about a year before they were reſtored, had made a Speech to the King for them, the King anſwered that the buſineſs was now in the Pope's hands, without whoſe direction he would determine nothing (*negotium penes Pontificem eſſe, quo inconſulto nihil velit decernere*). But it may be more plainly perceived in a paſſage afterward at their reſtitution; for when the Parliament interceded againſt their reſtitution, and were very averſe from publiſhing the Kings Edict for that purpoſe, at laſt comes And. Huraltus

21 Aug. 1597.

Thu. l. 120.

Thu. ib. Perefix. p. 294.

Thu. ibid.

L. 129.

L. 132.

Huraltus Meſſius into the Senate, and acquaints them from the King with *the whole ſeries of the buſineſs*, and tells them *that above five years ſince the Pope had dealt with the King that the Jeſuites might be reſtored to the ſame ſtate in the Kingdom wherein they were before the Decree.* This was about the beginning of the year 1604, and the King having in the year 1598 treated with the Legate about the diſſolution of his Marriage, as hath been ſaid, in the year 1599; he obtained
L. 123. the Pope's Breve to certain Delegates, who, upon hearing of the cauſe, pronounced the Marriage null ab initio; ſo that this points us to the time exactly: and conſidering the common practice of the Court of Rome to neglect no opportunity of promoting their own ends, it cannot be thought that they would let this go without ſome aſſurance from the King of the reſtitution of the Jeſuites, which at the ſame time was earneſtly ſollicited. It is true that the King's beloved Miſ. who had engaged him to ſend to the Pope about it, died in Child-birth before the commiſſion to the Delegates was ſent; yet this hinders not but ſhe might before have prevailed with him to give all ſatisfaction to the Pope in order to the obtaining of it, and that thereupon he might ſo far have engaged to the Pope, that he knew not afterwards how to get off when he would; and this it ſeems was the true reaſon why the buſineſs hung ſo long, and yet was done at laſt. For thus Meſſius goes on relating the ſeries of the buſineſs, *the King*, ſays he, *put it off from day to day as much as he could*, (he did not refuſe or excuſe himſelf from denying it, but ſought delays) *and when he could no longer ſhift it off, he propoſed certain articles almoſt uniform to the contents of the Decree, and by his Embaſſador laboured with the Pope to be content with their reſtitution under thoſe conditions. For the Pope demanded their univerſal reſtitution throughout the whole Kingdom, but the King offered it in certain places appointed to a certain number, and in the Territories ſubject to the Court of Paris were only two places aſſigned them. From that time two years paſſed without any mention of the buſineſs, whereat the King, who deſired to gratifie the Pope in it, was troubled; at length the King's Embaſſador being inſtant with the Pope, he anſwered that the articles*

Quantum potuerat diem de die dixiſſe.

articles propoſed by the King ſeemed to him to be ſuch as the Jeſuites ought to be contented with them, but that hitherto he had deferred his anſwer, becauſe the General of the Society (Aquanina) *ſhewed himſelf not at all ſatisfied with them, nor would ſubſcribe to them, &c. that the buſineſs therefore was no longer in the King's power, but tranſacted by agreement between the King and the Pope; (rem proinde amplius non eſſe integram, ſed de ea inter Regem & Pontificem quaſi pacto tranſactum fuiſſe)* All which ſhews ſufficiently that the Pope had then gotten ſome hank upon him which he could not get off. Nor can any other be eaſily aſſigned ſo probable as this which I have ſaid. Only one thing more 'tis likely helped forward the buſineſs, *viz.* a deſire to ſecure his life by ingratiating himſelf with the regicides: for ſo it is ſaid, that when his great favourite the D. of Sully diſſwaded him from their re-admiſſion, he anſwered, *Give me then ſecurity for my life.* And indeed though in his anſwer to that grave ſpeech of the chief Preſident Harlay in the name of the Parliament, and in behalf of the Univerſity, repreſenting to him, both from their principles and practices, the danger of what he was about, not only to the Kingdom, but to his own perſon, he made ſhew of great contempt of that danger, and hopes, which upon mature deliberation he had conceived of the good fruits which France might receive from their reſtitution, and alſo of confidence in God, who had thus preſerved him hitherto, for his future preſervation; yet ſince it does plainly appear by what was delivered by Meſſius from him to the Senate, (and there can be no reaſon to think otherwiſe) that he was ſore againſt his will, (viz. through ſome inconſiderate pre-ingagement from which he could not recede) brought to it, his other favours to them beſides their re-admiſſion, may be thought to proceed from this principle, and his ſhew of contempt of the danger to argue rather what he ſought to conceal, than what he pretended, or at leaſt that that contempt proceeded from his hopes of ſecuring his own ſafety by this means. For, what-ever he pretended, it could not proceed from a well grounded *confidence of God's protection*; a thing inconſiſtent with his living in continued known ſin by reaſon of Foul. l. 9. c. 2.

his Amores, (which the Reverend Biſhop of Paris doth frequently deplore) and when he had before violated his conſcience by his change of Religion for ſecuring his Kingdom. For who can with confidence expect any favour from him, whom he doth daily knowingly injure and offend? Beſides, that confidence is not always the meer reſult of a good conſcience, but is often raiſed in pious ſouls by the ſpecial influence of the Spirit of God, who as he doth more and more encreaſe it in thoſe who continually and ſincerely endeavour to perſevere and go forward in a diligent obſervance of his will, and to raiſe their ſouls by a conſtant exerciſe of the dictates of Reaſon and Faith, above the animal or bruitiſh nature; ſo doth he always withdraw the ſame from thoſe who decline to bruitiſh affections, and if they go on ſo to do, at laſt leaves them diſ-ſpirited, and obnoxious to baſe and deceitful ſhifts and devices, whereby they pull down miſchief upon their own heads, eſpecially when this is mixt with ingratitude againſt great mercies. Nor can a ſacrilegious and profane abſolution, by thoſe who cry peace, peace, when there is no peace, ſerve the turn, without a due repentance proportionable to the fault with all its aggravations, and a ſound reformation. And for what fruits he might expect from their reſtitution, for the good of the Kingdom, his Parliament well informed him by the mouth of their worthy Preſident Harlay, in that notable ſpeech which might well have deſerved a larger place here, had not ſo much been related already to that purpoſe from others. *As they have all one common Name and Vow, ſo have they, ſaith he, certain heads of Doctrine wherein they all agree: as, that they acknowledge no Superior beſides the Pope, and to him they give Faith and an abſolute Obedience, and firmly believe that the Pope hath power to excommunicate Kings; but that a King excommunicate is a Tyrant, and that his ſubjects may with impunity make inſurrection againſt him. That every one of them who is initiated though but in the lower Orders of the Church, whatſoever crime he commits, cannot poſſibly incur the crime of Treaſon, becauſe they are not at all any longer the King's Subjects, nor ſubject to his Juriſdiction. Thus are the Eccleſiaſticks by their Doctrine exempt from the ſecular Power,*

Quos perdere vult Jupiter dementat prius.

and

and lawfully may with impunity lay bloudy (violent) hands upon the ſacred perſons of Kings. This they aſſert in printed Books, &c. Theſe falſe and erroneous Doctrines cannot be admitted by Kings, and therefore it behoves that they who maintain them ſhould before all things renounce the ſame in their Schools. If they do not, they ought by no means to be ſuffered, as thoſe who maintain a Doctrine deviſed to the ſubverſion of the fundamentals of royal power and authority. If they do, yet are they not much more to be truſted; for at Rome and in Spain, where theſe new monſtrous opinions flouriſh, they think one thing, but ſpeak another in France: and as they paſs into this or that Country, ſo do they take up or lay down theſe opinions. If they ſay that this they may lawfully do by † ſecret Diſpenſation, then what certainty can be had of their Doctrine, which is thus changed with their change of place, and is good or bad according to the times? This Doctrine they embrace and maintain in common (all of them), and it ſo thrives by little and little, that it is to be feared leſt in tract of time it infect the other orders, which are not yet levened by it. At firſt they had none more their adverſaries than the Sorboniſts, now many of them are their favourers, viz. thoſe who received their firſt inſtitution in their Schools. Others who are now training up in learning under them will hereafter do the like, and one day hold the chief dignities in the Senate; and if they ſhall think the ſame in point of Doctrine alſo, they will by degrees withdraw themſelves from their duty of obedience to the King, ſet at naught the King's Laws, and ſuffer the Liberties of the Gallicane Church to become obſolete, and wear out; and laſtly, will reckon it no crime of Treaſon which is committed by an Eccleſiaſtick.* Then he goes on, and imminds him of the fruits which had already been produced from theſe principles; of Barriere, Varada, and Guignard, and Chaſtel, and of the laſt King's murder, againſt whom this ungrateful Society ſtirred up the people to ſedition, nor were they thought guiltleſs of that murder; that in the late wars, of other Orders many perſiſted conſtantly in the King's obedience; but theſe conjoyntly and unanimouſly conſpired againſt him with the inveterate enemies of the Kingdom, (the Spaniard) nor was there one of that Society found, who was of the King's

* See their Anſwers to the Queſtions propoſed to them by the Court after the murder of the King; in Foul. l. 9. c. 2. five, and the Anſwer to Philanax Angl. ch. 5. p. 128.

† V. Sportſwood, Hiſt. of Scotl. l. 6. an. 1580. pag 308, 309.

Gens ingrata.

party, touches upon foreign examples, how in Portugal, they, and they only, deſerting the cauſe of their Country, adhered to the Spaniards, and were the cauſe of the ſlaughters of ſo many Prieſts and devout Perſons, two thouſand periſhing under the Spaniards in ſeveral manners; and by a ſingular indulgence obtained the Pope's pardon of ſo many confeſſed ſlaughters: then having ſpoken of the reaſonableneſs of the Decree which exterminates the Jeſuites, and had been received without contradiction in all other Courts, had not they withſtood it who were not well ſetled in the King's obedience, and were hardly brought off from their inveterate hatred againſt him, and anſwered objections, he preſents the humble obſecrations and obteſtations of the Parliament for the continuance of it; and to theſe adds the humble ſupplication of the Univerſity; and at laſt imminds him of the regard which his Predeceſſors had always had to the interceſſions of the Supreme Courts, at whoſe Petition or Advice they revoked or altered their Edicts, if they contained any thing amiſs; that this the Courts of the Kingdom beſeech his Majeſty, and promiſe themſelves from his Grace, that he will pleaſe to ſuffer them to enjoy their authority entire, which indeed is the authority of the King himſelf, as that which depends upon him, &c. But all would not do; notwithſtanding the interceſſion of the Parliament, the deprecation of the Univerſity, the diſſwaſions of thoſe he held both able and faithful to him; he had made an Edict, and it muſt be publiſhed, and the Jeſuites reſtored, mal-gre meſme les avis de quelques uns de ſon Conſeil. And they muſt not only be reſtored, but moreover have a new Colledge built them at La Fleſche, which the King endowed with an annual Rent of 11000 Crowns (Aurei) and prevailed with the Clergy for 100000 more toward the building of it; and he alſo orders that the hearts of Himſelf, his Queen, and their Succeſſors ſhall be there intombed in a Church to be built by himſelf; and in the mean time a Father of that Society is admitted to the inſpection and conduct of his own, being made his ordinary Preacher and Confeſſor, viz. Father Cotton, who preſently thereupon began to ſhew his zeal for the Pope againſt a Sentence

Sentence of the Colledge of Divines paſſed two years before, wherein they had aſſerted the Liberties of the Gallican Church againſt the Pride, and Haughtineſs, and Avarice of Rome; and among other things, that other Biſhops have power to order the publick affairs of the Church within their own Dioceſs, as well as the Roman Biſhop in his; and at his inſtance by the command of the King; for the Court could not be brought to conſent to it, not only the marble Table whereon the Decree was engraved, but the Pyramid it ſelf, with all the other inſcriptions in deteſtation of that fact of Chaſtel, was taken down and demoliſhed; and the printed-Cuts of it prohibited; which being notwithſtanding greedily bought up, diligent ſearch was by the King's command made for the braſs Plate from which they were printed, which yet was not found till few days before the murder of this King alſo renewed the common hatred againſt the Jeſuits. V. l. 129. L. 144.

59. But before we proceed to the murder it ſelf of this King, it will be neceſſary to take notice of ſome *other Conſpiracies* againſt him, whereof ſome were contemporary with thoſe of Barriere and Chaſtel, though not diſcovered till afterward, and ſome were ſince. The firſt *of Nic. Malavicinus* the Pope's Legate reſident with the Arch-Duke at Bruxels, who having every where ſought for an aſſaſſine, at laſt light upon *Ch. Ridicone* a Dominican Friar of Gant, who was very ready to lay down his life for the cauſe of Religion; but before he would undertake this buſineſs, deſired in the firſt place to have the authority of the Pope and Cardinal's approbation; wherefore the Legate for his ſatisfaction gave him a writing under his hand in the name of the Pope and Cardinals, to that purpoſe; and having furniſhed him with Mony, and bleſſed him with the ſign of the Croſs, he diſmiſſed him, giving him alſo for his better ſecurity from diſcovery, a faculty or diſpenſation to wear a ſecular habit, of a Souldier, and to ride, dance, fence, &c. Being thus prepared for the buſineſs, *the Jeſuite Hoduma*, to whom his Mother at confeſſion had diſcovered the agreement, deſired to ſee him, and having viewed him, diſliked nothing but his little ſtature, ſaying that there needed a more robuſt man. In Thu. l. 123.

his

his journey at Vermand he underſtood that the King was reconciled to the Church, and came to the Crown by lawful
1593. ſucceſſion, yet he went on as far as St. Denys, but from thence returned to Bruxels to the Legate, and gave him this reaſon of his return; whereat the Legate ſhaked his head, and telling him that the Bearnois (ſo he called the King) and all his party ſtood ſtill excommunicated by the Pope, perſwaded him to perſevere in his purpoſe; to whom Ridicone anſwered, if I could ſee the Pope's mandate, then it ſhould ſoon be conſidered on. At the ſame time *Pet. Arger* of the ſame Monaſtery at Gant, having firſt treated with Malavicinus at Bruxels, and then going to Rome, being returned from thence, likewiſe undertook the deſign of killing the King. Some time after *Ridicone*, with whom a ſervant of the Legates had afterward dealt in ſecret, went alſo to Rome, whither Malavicinus had returned, where being by him confirmed in his purpoſe, he took his journey by Milan, and having there communicated the buſineſs to the Spaniſh Miniſters, he
1596. came into France about the ſame time that Alex. Medices the Pope's Legate arrived there, the King being then reconciled not only to the Church but to the Pope alſo. At laſt being taken, when the King ſaw that the buſineſs could not be examined in a judiciary way without the great infamy of Malavicinus, and that not without ſome reflexion upon the Pope with whom he was already reconciled, and moreover caſting ſome ſuſpition upon the Arch-Duke to the diſturbance of the buſineſs of peace, whereof ſome overtures had been made by the Legate, he reſolved to diſſemble it, and diſmiſs Ridicone out of the Kingdom, requiring him not to return again upon pain and penalty of Treaſon. Being returned to Gaunt, he reſumed his former deſign of killing the King, and after ſome ſecret conference at the Monaſtery of St. Vincent in the King of Spain's Territories, he returned again into
1599. France, where being again apprehended, he was condemned and executed. At his Trial being asked how he could think of ſuch a thing as to kill the King, he anſwered, that *by the frequent Sermons from the Pulpit, and daily Diſputations in the School, which he heard; and moreover the praiſes of James Clemont,*

Clemont, as of a glorious Martyr who had devoted himſelf for the liberty of the French, every where reſounding, not only at the Churches, but in the Markets, Streets, and at Feaſts; he was eaſily perſwaded that he ſhould do a thing pleaſing and acceptable to God, who ſhould kill the cruel Tyrant, who without any right tore in pieces that moſt Chriſtian Kingdom with the loſs of ſo many ſouls; and therefore when Malavicinus did moreover furniſh him with the authority of God and the Pope to that purpoſe, he readily undertook it; being put to the rack he made no other confeſſion than he had done before. At the ſame time was alſo executed one *Nic. Anglus* a Capuchin Frier of St. Michel in the Dioceſs of Thoul in Lorrain, being convicted and condemned for the ſame crime. The next year after Ridicone was firſt apprehended, and while he was in priſon, *Ledeſma* a Miniſter of the King of Spain, employed one *Pet. Owen* a Carthuſian Frier, who, for his diſſolute manners being cenſured in his Monaſtery, had fled into Spain, to ſuborn an emiſſary to murder the King. Owen having treated with a Souldier in the King's Army about it, to whom he had made great promiſes, was himſelf the next year after apprehended and convicted both by witneſſes and by his own confeſſions, but was pardoned by the King in reſpect to the Carthuſians, being ſatisfied to have taken the evidence in a judicial manner, whereupon he might when he pleaſed expoſtulate with the Spaniards. But ſhortly after theſe things enſued the *Peace with Spain* at Vervins, and not long after ſome hopes given of the reſtitution of the Jeſuites, which was at laſt granted as we have ſeen: whereupon one might have thought that his enemies being all either ſubdued or reconciled, having reconciled himſelf to the Church, to the Pope, to thoſe of the League who remained unſubdued, to the Spaniard, and to the Jeſuites, that he ſhould henceforward have enjoyed his Kingdom, his new Religion which had brought all theſe bleſſings with it, and his Miſſes too, at leaſt his life, in ſafety. But alas, it may be feared he had forgotten to reconcile himſelf truly to his God, which made the reſt but *male fulta gratia, quæ ne quicquam coit & reſcinditur*: For, *when a mans ways pleaſe the*

Thu. l. 118. 1597.

the Lord, he maketh even his enemies to be at peace with him. But while he was thus endeavouring to engage the Jeſuites to himſelf, the Spaniard on the other ſide ſpared neither
Thu. l. 132. 1604. pains, nor coſt, nor promiſes, that by *their emiſſaries* they might *allure* to themſelves the minds of thoſe who through the late Civil Wars were alienated from him, and under the ſpecious colour of Religion might invite them to diſturb the publick peace and quiet of the Kingdom, laying hold on all occaſions for that purpoſe: and that they might diſcover his arcana & ſecret counſels, and from the knowledge of them, the better order their own deſigns, made it their main buſineſs to *corrupt* thoſe who were employed by the principal Officers and Miniſters of State. Thus among others, *Nic. L'Oſte*, whom the Secretary Villeroy employed in decyfering letters, being corrupted by them with an annual penſion of 1200 Crowns, continually diſcovered all the ſecrets of them to the
l. 138. Spaniſh Embaſſador. They had before corrupted the *Mareſhal de Biron*, and ſome other perſons of Quality, which being diſcovered, brought him to his end about two years ſince; and now they not only again ſet upon the Count d'Auvergne,
L 132. & 134. who had been convicted of Biron's conſpiracy, and pardoned, but alſo the *Seigneur d'Entragues*, and the *Marquiſe de Verneuil* his beautiful and witty daughter, the King's Miſs, to corrupt them, and that by no meaner or other agents than their Embaſſadors in France, *Jo. Taxis*, and his ſucceſſor *Batth. Sunica*, who, to introduce him at firſt, made uſe of an Engliſh fugitive Th. Morgan, an actor in the Conſpiracies againſt his
L. 134. own Princeſs Queen Elizabeth. The next year this ſame
1605. Embaſſador Suniga, firſt in perſon, and afterwards, to avoid ſuſpition, by his Secretary *Brunellus*, treated, and at laſt agreed with *Lewis Merargues* a Gentleman of Provence to betray Marſeilles to the King of Spain; which both Merargues and Brunellus confeſſed, being apprehended in private conference in Merargues's Chamber; and in Brunellus his hoſe under his garter was a paper found, written in Spaniſh with his own hand, which confirmed the ſame. [*Un memoire contenant le plan de ſon entrepriſe.* Perefix.] Theſe things I the rather note, becauſe of uſe as well to confirm the truth of their like

practices

practices in England, as to help to ground ſome conjecture on concerning the murder of this King.

60. While the Spaniards are thus active to continue their old, and make new friends in France, it is not likely they would be unmindful of *the Jeſuites*, whom they had always found ſuch ready inſtruments to ſerve them, and in other Countries were ſtill as well affected to the intereſt of Spain and the houſe of Auſtria, though contrary to that of their own Countrey, as ever. Nor is it to be thought that the Jeſuites would be ſo eaſily drawn off from their old Friend and Patron, by thoſe little expreſſions of kindneſs, not ſufficient to compenſate their injuries received; and beſides, might be doubtful whether proceeding from any real affection to them or not; eſpecially conſidering their ſubjection to the ſame F. General, by whom the motion of their ſociety in other Countries under their ſeveral Provincials, is in a correſpondent uniformity ſteered; only 'tis probable, as becomes wiſe men, they would be cautious and wary how they did hazard the loſs of what they had gotten, and therefore act upon pretty ſure grounds: yet we meet with ſome inſtances of their affection to their old friend. For, to ſay nothing of *F. Cotton*, a prime man of the Society, and the King's Confeſſor, his conſulting a ſuppoſed Dæmoniack concerning the * King's life, the ſame Father is reported to have † brought and recommended to the King a certain Spaniard, of whom the King a while after received from Monſieur de la Force Vice-Roy of Bearne and Navar, a deſcription, with an advertiſement that ſuch a day he went from Barcelona into France, with intent to kill his Majeſty, and ſhewing his letter to Cotton, commanded him to bring the man again, but Cotton returning a good while after, told him he was gone, and could not be found; and that not a year before the King was murdered he was in diſgrace for writing * divers things to the Provincial of the Jeſuites in Spain, which the King had revealed to him in confeſſion: and that † the D. of Sully proved to the King that he was guilty of betraying his ſecrets. What theſe ſecrets were I find not; but this is to be noted, that he had then a *great deſign* in hand, which, whether the

V. l. 135. 136.

* L. 132.

† P. du Moulin, Anſw. to Philanax, Ch. 5.

* P. du Moulin, ibid.

† Foul. 9. c. 2.

ſame or not which he pretended, and which is related by the D. of Sully, and from him by Perefix the Arch-Biſhop of Paris, he had in purſuance of it raiſed a great Army, which ſtartled both Spain and Rome. He had about two years before his death entred into a *League Offenſive and Defenſive with* thoſe Hereticks and Rebels againſt the Catholick King, *the Hollanders*, whereof the Spaniards grievouſly complained, Don Pedro de Toledo repreſenting to him that the ruine or converſion of the Hereticks was the common intereſt of all the Catholick Princes, and what great wars his Maſter had made upon that deſign: and was now, though the Pope had earneſtly dehorted him from any more arming, going in perſon, with an Army of 40000 choice men, to *aſſiſt the D. of Brandingburg* with his Allies the Proteſtant Princes, in the buſineſs of Cleves and Juliers, whereof the Emperor complained, as that which could not be without wrong to the Catholick Religion; and what was worſt of all, this expedition was not doubted to be only a cover for ſome greater deſign, that buſineſs of Cleves falling out very opportunely to furniſh him with a good occaſion to commence the execution of his projects. While the King was raiſing this Army, in France was *a great Book ſecretly kept* by ſome Prieſts, wherein many did ſubſcribe their fidelity and obedience to the Pope, many of the ſubſcriptions in blood; and at Rome, (the Pope having dehorted him from arming) four months before he was murthered, was *the Decree againſt John Chaſtel cenſured*, and forbidden to be read, by an Act of the Conſiſtory, together with the Hiſtory of Thuanus for relating too plainly that horrid action of Chaſtel, and the part which the Jeſuites had in it; and likewiſe a Book of Mariana the Jeſuite, but not that which approveth the murthering of King's, which by that means, was in ſome ſort, that is, tacitly and implicitly approved. At laſt, having as well ordered all things for the Government at home in his abſence, as perfected his preparations for the Expedition, he was impatient to be gone from the City, partly through his eager deſire of purſuing the exploit, partly boding and preſaging ſome miſchief to his perſon, if he ſhould ſtay longer there. But

Perefix, an. 1608.

Foul. ibid. Per. an. 1609.

Foul. ibid.

Moulin, ibid.

the

the Queen, to whom he had committed the Regency in his abſence, aſſigning her a ſelect Council, through the inſtigation of Conchini and his Wife, being very *importunate* with him *that ſhe might be crowned* before his departure, he would not deny her that teſtimony of his affection, though otherwiſe very unwilling, and withal told her, 'That that Coro-'nation did preſage him ſome miſchief; they would kill him; 'he ſhould never go from that City; his enemies had no 'other remedy but his death; it was told him that he 'ſhould be ſlain at the firſt grand magnificence that he ſhould make, and that he ſhould die in a Coach; which 'made him taken with a trembling when he was in one. He was counſelled for the avoiding of the unhappy prophecies to depart the next day, and to leave the Coronation, which might well be done without him: but this extremely offended the Queen, and therefore to ſatisfie her, he ſtaid, with ſuch ſucceſs as was foretold. For the next day after the Coronation, when in the morning * he had been very ſad and penſive, one while caſting himſelf upon his bed to ſleep, then again when he could not ſleep, ariſing to his prayers, doing this ſeveral times, in the afternoon he would needs go to the Arſenal to viſit the Duke of Sully, who was there indiſpoſed, though the Duke of Vendoſme imminded him that he had been warned to beware of the fourteenth day; but contemning the warning and predictions, out of a deſire to conceal his fear, (juſt as he had done before in the reſtitution of the Jeſuites, contrary to the advice and perſwaſions of his beſt friends) in the way his Coach being ſtayed by a ſtop made by two Carts accidentally meeting in a narrow ſtreet, he was *ſtabbed* between the ſecond and third rib, and at a ſecond blow *to the heart*, whereof he died preſently. *The Aſſaſſin* was one *Francis Ravaillac*, formerly a Monk, but at that time a Sollicitor. What *motives*, *perſwaſions or inſtigations* he might have to this wicked act, is much in the dark; but that it was, *not out of revenge* for any perſonal injury the meanneſs of his quality may induce us to believe; and beſides no ſuch thing was ever pretended or alledged. *Nor* was it *out of hope of any temporal advantage*; for then he would

Per. p. 489: Quære, who was this Conchini who put this into the Queens head? I think an Italian of Florence.

* Continuation of de Serres.

Peref.

would have fled, and endeavoured to have ſaved himſelf, which he did not in the leaſt; but therefore *upon the ſcore of Religion,* which is further manifeſt; for it ſeems he had in him ſome of the leven of the League, and was perſwaded that the King went to overthrow the Catholick Religion in Germany. He † ſaid that the King made War contrary to the Pope's liking, and boldly alledged, at his examination, this reaſon for what he did, That the King had a deſign to make war againſt God, becauſe he prepared war againſt his Holineſs; for making war againſt the Pope, is the ſame as to make war againſt God. This is further confirmed by his carriage both at his Apprehenſion, Examination, and Execution. When he had redoubled his ſtroke, and offered a third, he never ſo much as ſtirred from the place, or offered to conceal the knife, but ſtood ſtill, as if he deſired to be taken notice of, and gloried in the exploit; and (which may alſo help to ſatisfie us that he did it *not of his own meer motion*) at his examination, were evident marks found in him of the Doctrine of the Jeſuites, and to the Divines who were ſent to him, he ſhewed himſelf perfectly inſtructed in all their diſtinctions and evaſions about Rebellion and King-killing, though otherwiſe very ignorant in all other Learning. Laſtly, at his Execution, ſuch was his conſtancy in the midſt of his terrible tortures, as ſtrongly confirmed the ſuſpition that certain Emiſſaries under the maſque of piety had inſtructed and enchanted him by falſe aſſurances that he ſhould dye a Martyr, if he killed him, whom they made him believe was the ſworn enemy of the Church: and poſſibly he might have been charmed by ſome ſuch incantations as were heretofore uſed to Barriere; and yet, as 'tis ſaid, he did confeſs thus much, that he had informed Father d'Aubigny of his intended murther, and ſhewed him the knife; but it was in confeſſion, and therefore not to be revealed; and the Jeſuite upon examination proteſted that God had given him the grace, that as ſoon as any thing was revealed to him in confeſſion, he preſently forgot it. The Jeſuites were generally ſuſpected and cenſured as guilty, and ſeveral ſuſpitious paſſages in their Sermons lately preached, particularly by F. Hardy and F. Gon-

† See the Petition of the Univerſity of Paris in the continuation of Serres; K. James's Defence of the Right of Kings ſub finem; Foul. p. 646. from the Examination and Proceſs.

V. The Petition and Moulin, p. 126. 137.

Foul. p. 642.

F. Gontier, were called to mind: and thereupon the Parliament ordered the Jeſuite Mariana's Book de Rege & Regis Inſtitutione to be burned by the common Executioner: and afterward condemned a Book of Suarez (Defenſio Fidei Cath.) as containing many Seditious and treaſonable Principles; and after this another of another Jeſuite, Ant. Sanctarellus (de Hæreſi, Schiſmate, &c.) printed at Rome with the approbation of the General, and at the ſame time queſtioned F. Cotton, and other chief men of their Society about their Doctrine in this reſpect; but this was many years after the murder. But that the Hiſtory is ſo ſparing in this particular of the acceſſories, it ſelf gives us a good reaſon; *the Judges themſelves who examined him*, ſays Perefix, *durſt not open their mouths, and never ſpoke of it but with a ſhrug of their ſhoulders*; and that ſome grand thing was huſhed up, may be ſuppoſed from the publick complaint of the Prince of Conde and others five years after, that the diſcovery of this murther was ſtopped, and not fully proſecuted. It ſhould ſeem domeſtick and foreign jealouſies conſpired in it. But that it was not done without the privity of others, is further confirmed from the Predictions of it, the general bruit which fore-ran it, and the King's enemies confident expectation of it. *His enemies*, ſays Perefix, were then in a profound *ſilence*; which poſſibly was not cauſed by their conſternation and fear of the ſucceſs of his arms, but for the expectation they had to ſee ſome great blow, which was all their hope. It was foretold in an Almanack brought to Peireſcius out of Spain, printed November before; which Gaſſendus, though he doubts not but the Artiſt might have ſome dealing with an evil genius, yet thinks he might foreſee by other means, as being privy to the conſpiracy, which indeed is the more likely becauſe it was compoſed by a Beneficiary or Beneficed man of Barcellonia or Barcinonia, from whence the Spaniſh Emiſſary above mentioned came to Paris to Father Cotton, by whom he was recommended to the King. And perhaps of the ſame kind with this was that Prediction of his approaching death by a determinate blow, which was found written in a paper upon the Altar at Montargis. The Provoſt of Piu-

Continuat. of Serres, p. 1295 Foul. p. 646.

Foul. ibid. Moul. ubi ſup.

Perefix.

Continuat. of Serres.

Pluviers, who, 'tis ſaid, was a Jeſuite in Faction, and had a Son a Jeſuite, being accuſed to have ſaid the ſame day that the King was murthered, that he was ſlain or wounded that day, ſtrangled himſelf in priſon. And indeed ſuch and ſo many were the predictions and reports of it at the time, and before it was done, which are mentioned by * Gaſſendus, Pereſix, and others, as make it very apparent that it was generally fore-known both in Spain and Italy, or at leaſt that there was then many emiſſaries ſent out to do it, and that it was confidently expected that it would certainly be done. Only it is ſomewhat ſtrange that thoſe *circumſtances*, at his next Solemnity, in his Coach, and the very day of the month, ſhould be ſo preciſely *foretold*, as it ſeems it was in that manner that he gave credit to it, though no credulous perſon, and was ſo ſad and dejected, that he was like one condemned to death, though by nature neither fearful nor melancholy. He had advertiſements to this purpoſe by his Embaſſadors, and namely by Jo. Bochartus from Venice; and by others from twenty ſeveral places. But it ſeems it was decreed, the Decree was gone out, and it muſt be executed.

* Li. 2. de vita Peireskii.

This end had Henry le Grand in the height of his Grandure; much like the fall of ſome ſtately ſtructure deceitfully built upon an infirm foundation, when juſt raiſed to its height. He was frighted in his youth into a change of his Profeſſion, for the ſaving of his life, (the firſt, but bitter fruit of his being unequally yoked) but that being only through teror and conſtraint, he returned again, when he found a convenient opportunity to the open profeſſion of his own Religion. It was about the eighteenth year of his age, when his youth might make his yielding to ſo extraordinary terror, heightned by the ſad ſpectacle of the horrid murthers of all his friends, the more excuſable. About eighteen years after, when he was grown up to maturity, about the thirty ſixt year of his age, and had given ſome teſtimony of his conſtancy in his Profeſſion; and for his encouragement had received no ſmall teſtimonies of Divine favour, not only preſerving and conducting him ſafe through many dangers and difficulties, but leading him by the hand to the poſſeſſion of the

the Kingdom, and making way for him by the extirpation of a whole Family, another Trial was aſſigned him by the great Agonothetes; who never ceaſeth to provide new matter and occaſions of trial and exerciſe for all thoſe who once apply themſelvs to his ſervice, till either by many mutual experiments given and received of their fidelity and conſtancy to him, and of his admirable Providence never failing them, but ordering all for their good, they become more than Conquerors, and well ſetled and confirmed in his ſervice, (one great reaſon of the difficulties and adverſities wherewith good men are frequently exerciſed) or on the other ſide, after many acts of unfaithfulneſs, whereby their courage and reſolution is more and more broken and abated, they become eaſily affrighted or allured from their duty, and at laſt either wholly deſerting, or little regarding the ſame, are accordingly by him abandoned to the deceitful and pernitious courſes of their own luſts and devices. The former was a trial whether he would be frighted or forced from his fidelity; this rather whether he would be allured from it. In the former he failed; and now having had time to repent, and reſume new courage and reſolution, he is again called upon the ſtage; and in the firſt aſſault he behaved himſelf not much amiſs. For, who can miſlike his referring all to the determination and advice of a lawful General, or National Council, had be been ſincere, and continued conſtant in this reſolution? Nor did he want encouragement in this reſpect from the forward and courageous oppoſition which on his behalf was made againſt the Pope's Bulls, by his Subjects even of the Roman Communion, and not only by the Civil Power, but the Clergy alſo concurring therein; who moreover gave him a fair opportunity, and kind of invitation either by ſetting up a Patriarch in France, (which had been very agreeable to the firſt flouriſhing ſtate of the Church after the times of Perſecution) or by reſtoring to the Arch-Biſhops and Biſhops their ancient authority (which was in ſome ſort done, and held for four years after) to have caſt of that Antichriſtian yoke of the Papal Uſurpations, (under which he afterwards, neglecting that opportunity, unhappily enſlaved himſelf and his Kingdom

V. Eccleſiaſticus, 2. 1. 2, 3, &c.

V. Thu. l. 98. 101, & 103.

V. Thu. l. 103.

dom) and ſo having reformed that grand, abominable abuſe, he might with the more facility, afterwards have eſtabliſhed, by the mature deliberation of a lawful Council, ſuch a Reformation of the Gallican Church as perhaps might not have been inferior to any which hath been made in other places.

L. 107. And afterwards, when he reſolved to be reconciled to the Church, they admitted and abſolved him, notwithſtanding the Pope's Legate oppoſed it all he could, contending that he could not be abſolved by any but the Pope. But theſe things which might have given encouragement to a conſcientious and truly pious mind, to conſtancy and further dependance upon God, to him perhaps proved a further tentation; their fidelity to him making their perſwaſions to change his Religion the more prevalent with him; eſpecially concurring with a more powerful motive, viz. the reducing of the reſt of the Kingdom to his obedience. And therefore, though like David he waxed ſtronger and ſtronger, and the League, like the houſe of Saul, waxed weaker and weaker, yet in about half the time that David was kept out of the greateſt part of his Kingdom, he began to yield to the tentation. And firſt, when the Leaguers, through the incitations of the Pope and the King of Spain, were about to aſſemble to chooſe a Catholick King, (though that was not unlikely to break their party by their emulations and diviſions concerning the perſon) forgetting his former reſolutions, and neglecting his conſcience, inſtead of dependance upon the Divine Providence, he applies himſelf to humane Policies, and reſolves to change his Religion, without ſtaying for the determination of a lawful either General or National Council.

L. 107. And this, after a few hours inſtruction, whereby he pretended he was much informed of what he was ignorant be-

*L. 107, 108. fore, being ſolemnly done, he next, not long after, by a * ſpecial Embaſſador makes ſupplication to the Pope to be admitted to his favour. And though he had preſently hereupon two notable experiments, by the attempts of Barriere and Chaſtel, of the vanity and deceitfulneſs of ſuch ſhifts and humane Policies, without the favour of the Divine Protection and Bleſſing, (beſides a faithful and ſound admonition from

from the good Queen Elizabeth) yet his confidence and reliance upon God, being before weakned, (it commonly proving with perverted minds as with corrupted ſtomachs, which turn their natural food and nouriſhment into the nouriſhment of their diſeaſe) theſe did but provoke him to the more earneſt purſuit of humane politick means; and therefore again, when he had already broken the party of the League, and Paris, wherein their chief ſtrength lay, had ſubmitted to him, and beſides all this, the Pope had unworthily repulſed his Embaſſador, and given him a juſt provocation, (which certainly he might have improved, with the concurrence and good liking of the French Nobility and Clergy, toward the reformation of that abominable abuſe of the Papacy, which is the original or prop of all the reſt) he was notwithſtanding eaſily wrought upon at the ſlight intimation of the Pope, (who, when he ſaw it was in vain longer to oppoſe him, was very willing to receive his ſubmiſſion) to ſend another Embaſſie, and baſely proſtrate himſelf to him: baſely I ſay, becauſe it is not likely that he did it out of Conſcience or Religion, but rather out of fear of Emiſſaries and Aſſaſſins, which is * expreſly mentioned by his Agents to the Pope, as a motive to his reconciliation: and for the ſame reaſon, 'tis likely, as hath been ſhewed before, he at laſt, notwithſtanding all perſwaſions, earneſt interceſſions and ſupplications to the contrary, reſtored the Jeſuites again, and among other favours ſubjected the government of his conſcience to them. This was the foundation upon which he built his Greatneſs, which having laid for his ſecurity, he preſently ſet himſelf to heap up Treaſures, and at laſt raiſed a great Army for the execution of ſome grand deſign, which, whatever it was in truth, he pretended to be for the promotion of the Chriſtian cauſe againſt the Infidels. But alas, all was built upon a ſandy foundation; he had forſaken the rock of his ſalvation, and relying upon vain policies had ungratefully forſaken him, by whom he never had, nor ſhould have been forſaken, ſo long as he continued faithful and conſtant to his duty; and proſtituting his conſcience to obtain a ſtaff of reed, had broken the ſtaff of his ſureſt confidence, aggravating alſo the offence of

L. 109.
L. 102.
L. 113.
* A percuſſoribus, qui quotidie vitæ ejus inſidiantur metuentem.
Iſa. 35. 6.

his ſpiritual Fornication, and the burden of his galled conſcience (which is alwaies heavieſt in times of danger) by perſiſting in the continual ſcandals of his Amores, whereof the Arch-Biſhop Perefix often complains, as juſtly to be blamed * *in a Chriſtian Prince, a man of his age, who was married, on whom God had conferred ſo great mercies, and who had ſuch great enterprizes in his hand.* This was it which made his apprehenſion of his approaching death ſo ſtrong and lamentable, and ſubjected him to the effects of that Religion to which he had ſubjected himſelf, as thoſe who conſult and crave the aſſiſtance of witches and evil ſpirits, make themſelves thereby the more obnoxious to their power and malice. Thus did he fall from that Grandure which by the ſpace of near another eighteens years he had been raiſing upon this falſe foundation. Such profane policies ſubjecting Religion to a ſubſervience to ſecular ends, though ſucceſful for a while, yet frequently at laſt concluding in an unhappy cataſtrophie. Nor could the ſpecious pretence of his grand deſign find acceptance with him, who prefers obedience before ſacrifice. This was it which was in general foreſeen and foretold by our good Queen by a more genuine ſpirit of Propheſie, and from better Principles than they were moved by who foretold the ſame indeed more particularly, but yet only like witches and evil ſpirits, who foretell the ſtorms they mean to raiſe. And ſhe her ſelf, who built her aſſurance upon a better foundation, continuing conſtant to the laſt to her Conſcience and Religion, and to her God, was by him conſtantly bleſſed and preſerved to the laſt, during a Reign more than twice as long as his, and from conſpiracies neither fewer nor in themſelves leſs dangerous than thoſe againſt him: and this was it which made her to hear the full relation of a horrid conſpiracy againſt her perſon with that undaunted courage which amazed him who ſhould have been the actor of it, to behold it: and with admirable conſtancy to contemn the many like conſpiracies which ſhe certainly knew were at one and the ſame time by the Seminaries and Spaniſh Miniſters in agitation againſt her, repoſing her confidence in him whom ſhe knew was able to ſave her, with this pious ejaculation, *Thou art*

* Pag. 461.

Parry apud Cambd. an. 1585.

Cambd. an. 1594. See before, p 26,27.

Pſ. 31. 14.

my

my God, my times are in thy hand: not, *They will kill me, I ſhall never go out of this City, I ſhall dye*, &c.

62. The ſame diſtinguiſhing Providence might be further obſerved in another Hiſtory, to which this is a proper introduction; but leaving that to the obſervation of others, I will here conclude with ſome *REFLECTIONS AND OBSERVATIONS* upon what hath been already related, that we may ſee what uſe and improvement may be made of it.

1. And firſt *in the Hiſtory of England*, we may plainly behold the continuance of *the combination of Rome and Spain*, which was the occaſion of that part of the diſcourſe, even to the very time of thoſe conſultations, which were deſigned to commence in execution immediately upon the Queens death; which may therefore reaſonably induce us to believe that it did not then ceaſe; but was continued in, and produced at laſt, that monſter of all deviliſh and infernal conſpiracies of blowing up the whole State at one blow.

2. We may therein alſo clearly perceive *the juſtice, reaſonableneſs, and even neceſſity of thoſe Laws*, which in the Queens Reign were made to prevent and reſtrain thoſe wicked practices of the Jeſuites, and other Romiſh and Spaniſh Emiſſaries, and their diſciples; which hath been acknowledged by ſome of the more ſober Prieſts.

3. We muſt alſo therein take notice of the *admirable Providence of God in the preſervation of that Queen* from ſo many, ſo various, ſo myſterious ſecret conſpiracies, (the truth of which is further confirmed by the like practices of the Romiſh and Spaniſh Agents in France, and other places about the ſame times) and from ſo great open hoſtility, one while diverting, another while defeating her enemies, and making her victorious: and this *notwithſtanding the ſeveral* * *excommunications*, and ſolemn execrations and imprecations of ſeveral Popes one after another againſt her; as of Pius 5. Greg. 13. Sixtus 5. and Clement 8. which were all not only ineffectual, but rather turned into a bleſſing unto her.

* V. ſect. 26, 33, 36.

4. In *the Hiſtory of France* compared with the other, that *diſtinguiſhing Providence*, which was the occaſion of that part

of the diſcourſe, is no leſs conſpicuous and obſervable in a moſt remarkable judgment of God upon all thoſe who either *perſecuted*, or *deſerted*, or ſo much as *refuſed or neglected* that reformation of Religion which ſhe happily eſtabliſhed and defended; for in this laſt ſort alſo we have † noted it, though by the by, and this notwithſtanding all the incitations and encouragements of ſeveral Popes and Cardinals. So that here we have a moſt *remarkable example* of their Curſes turned into a Bleſſing, and their Bleſſings into a Curſe.

† V. ſect. 48. p. 97---100.

5. And here if we take for Principles the two laſt of Bellarmines *Notes of the true Church of Chriſt*, the one, *the unhappy exit or end of thoſe who oppoſe the Church.* 'For (as 'he adds) although God puniſheth his, and whips them, yet 'at length he caſts the rod into the fire; Deut. 32 43. Praiſe 'his people ye Nations, for he will avenge the blood of his 'ſervants, and render vengance upon their adverſaries: the 'other, *the temporal felicity by the Divine Providence conferred 'on thoſe who defend it.* For never, ſays he, did Catholick 'Princes cordially adhere to God, but they moſt eaſily became 'triumphant over their enemies. If, I ſay, we take theſe for our Principles, it will be very eaſy for any one, upon what hath been here related, to make the concluſion; viz. which is the true Church of Chriſt, and which the meretricious and adulterous; who have been true Catholick Princes, and who the Kings of the Earth who have committed fornication with the great Whore, the woman drunken with the blood of the Saints; and this will further appear from what follows.

4. De Eccleſia, c. 17.

C. 18.

6. And therefore *in both theſe Hiſtories* we may alſo take notice of *the actions and practices of the Popes and their party*, their Adherents, Agents, Emiſſaries and Diſciples, viz. exciting and fomenting wars and invaſions among Chriſtian Princes, with breach of publick Faith; ſeditions and rebellions by Subjects againſt their own Princes, and the murders of Princes by their own Subjects, encouraged thereunto by an impious pretence of abſolution from their duty of Obedience, and even oaths of Fidelity, and by promiſe of Reward, even of greateſt eternal Reward, for that which hath been abhorred

abhorred by all other Religions, and always reputed contrary even to the Laws of Nations and of War; and perſecutions and horrible ſlaughters of Chriſtian people by their own Princes: and all this by an abominable abuſe of Religion, and the moſt ſacred and ſolemn parts of Religion; and only for their own cauſe, for the upholding of the Papal Innovations, Uſurpations and Antichriſtian abuſes.

Note; *The perſecutions and* ſlaughters of Chriſtian people excited by the Popes, *upon the account of Religion, ſince the firſt appearing of the Waldenſes and Albigenſes, may be thought, for the numbers ſlain, to come near, if not to equal the Heathen perſecutions, or rather much exceed them. In the firſt perſecutions againſt that people, which were raiſed whether by the exhortation, or decree and command, as ſome ſay, of Pope Innocent* 3. *are reckoned to be ſlain in France alone* 1000000 *of people*; *and of later days have been reckoned* 150000 *Chriſtians, within the ſpace of ſcarce* 30 *years, conſumed by the Inquiſition. But theſe are things out of our preſent ſtory.*

7. We may here likewiſe obſerve *the nature and manner of their actions and practices*, which conſiſt of the two great ſpecies of injuſtice, *vis & dolus*, violence and fraud, open force, and ſecret and myſterious practices and machinations, and ſo make up a compleat myſtery of iniquity. The one we may behold not only in the Spaniard's Forces raiſed and employed at the inſtigation of the Pope and his Agents, but alſo in the Forces raiſed by the Popes themſelves (who pretend themſelves Vicars of the Prince of Peace, and as Chriſtian Biſhops, ſhould be the Preachers of Peace, and not the Trumpets of War) both againſt the Queen of England and the King of France: and the other in the ſecret practices of the Jeſuites and other Confeſſors and Emiſſaries, exciting to Rebellions, and to aſſaſſinate Princes.

8. And here taking *another of Bellarmines Notes* of the true Church, viz. *Sanctity of Life of the Authors and Propagators of the Religion*; and our Saviour's rule, *By their fruits ye ſhall know them*; together with his Apoſtles Catalogues of the works of the Fleſh, and of the fruits of the Spirit; for our Principles, it will not be difficult to conclude whether theſe men

Ca. 12.
Mat. 7. 16.
Gal. 5. 19, 22.

men be the Authors or Propagators of the true Religion, (for here, for their Religion that only is to be taken about which the difference is, and for which they contend, ſeeking by theſe means to maintain and promote it) or rather of an abominable innovation, and corruption of the true Religion; and whether their Church be the true and faithful Church of Chriſt, or rather that myſtery of iniquity, that abomination of deſolation, that man of ſin and ſon of perdition, who hath ſet up himſelf in the Temple of God.

2 Theſ. 2.

9. We may here alſo behold *the Principles from whence all theſe actions and practices have proceeded*, viz. 1. That the Biſhops of Rome, as ſucceſſors of St. Peter, have a ſupreme power and authority derived to them from Chriſt over all Chriſtian Perſons and Churches, all Nations and Kingdoms, all Princes and States. 2. That by this power and authority they may lawfully abſolve ſubjects from all duty of Obedience and oath of Fidelity to their otherwiſe lawful Princes and Governors; and depoſing them, may diſpoſe of their Kingdoms and States to whom they think fit. 3. That Princes excommunicate by the Pope are no longer to be obeyed by their Subjects, but to be deprived of their Kingdoms and lives. 4. That to riſe in Arms againſt ſuch Princes excommunicate, or by any means to murder and deſtroy them, is not only lawful, but moreover meritorious even in their own ſubjects; and that to die in ſuch an attempt is martyrdom, &c. And of all this we have here a more effectual evidence than only from the writings or printed Books of ſome private men, viz. in the Bulls and Acts of the Popes themſelves, of Univerſities and Colledges of Divines, the frequent Sermons of their Preachers, and Inſtructions of Confeſſors, and Practices of their Penitents.

V. Foul. l. 1. c. 4. & l. 2. c. 1.
V. Foul. l. 2. c. 2. 5, 6.
V. Foul. l. 2. c. 3, 4.

Note; *It is here to be noted that beſides theſe* Practices and Principles *ſo pernitious and deſtructive to the Sacred, though Civil Right of Princes and States, and the peace and quiet of Common wealths, there are* others no leſs pernitious and deſtructive to the Church, and to the Salvation of particular perſons, *which, becauſe they come not within the compaſs of this Hiſtory, we take no notice of.*

10. And

10. And here we may ſee what is *the Religion of theſe men.* For though there be other points in controverſy, whereof many little more than meer verbal, about words and expreſſions, which are kept up only through heat of contention, and might eaſily be agreed by ſober, judicious, and diſintereſſed perſons; and others originally only the private opinions of ſome men of great authority in their times, wherein the ſubſtance of Religion is no more concerned than in the ſpeculations of Philoſophers, though now commonly received and adopted into Religion by the Popes and their Faction, whether for ſecular advantage, or to hold up their pretended Infallibility; yet theſe are their Κυριαι δοξαι, their * fundamental and ruling Principles for which they contend; the Principles from whence all theſe Perſecutions, Wars, Maſſacres and Murders have proceeded, and the Religion, *quæ nunc novo exemplo Martyres facit,* as † Del Rio ſpeaks in the caſe of Garnet whom he and Bellarmine will needs have to be a * Martyr whether he will or not. But perhaps ſome may ſay that this is not the faith or practice of all of that communion. Nor do I think it is, but that many are better Chriſtians than to be impoſed upon by the ſtrength of ſuch deluſions; ſuch eſpecially who living in ſuch Churches as continue in that communion, are not ſatisfied to ſeparate from their own Church, though they clearly perceive and abominate theſe abuſes, and heartily deſire their reformation; and many ſuch I doubt not but there have been and ſtill are among the moſt ſober, judicious, and pious of the French, even of the Clergy. And though I am very willing to think charitably of many of our Engliſh Romaniſts, yet I ſee not how they can be excuſed who ſeparate from the Church of England, which is and ought to be their own Church, (ſo long as it continues a member of the Church of Chriſt, which an unjuſt excommunication by an apoſtate Church

* V. Sandys Europæ ſpeculum of their Head Aſſertions, p. 24. in 4 to.

† Vindic. Areopag. c. 27. p. 124.

* *To whom we may ſay with Optatus, lib. 3. Si illos videri Martyres vultis, probate illos amaſſe pacem, in qua ſunt* Prima Fundamenta Martyrii: *aut dilexiſſe Deo placitam unitatem, aut habuiſſe cum fratribus charitatem. Nam omnes Chriſtianos fratres eſſe---probavimus. --- Charitatem illos non habuiſſe manifeſtiſſime conſtat, ſine qua nullum vel nominari poteſt vel eſſe martyrium, ſaith he to the Donatiſts, p. 99.*

Church cannot hinder) to joyn with ſuch a Faction. Nor do I ſee how they can be excuſed who refuſe to take the Oath of Allegiance, which I am very confident not a man of the ancient Chriſtians would have refuſed: and it is hard not to think that becauſe they received not the love of the truth offered to them, that for this cauſe God hath ſent them ſtrong deluſions that they ſhould believe a lie, &c. But notwithſtanding that ſome, who for the reaſon mentioned continue in that communion, may by the mercy and grace of God eſcape theſe deluſions, yet it is apparent that theſe are the Doctrines of the Pope, the Church and Court of Rome, and of the Jeſuites; and the reſt are generally ſo ſeaſoned and levened with ſuch conceits of the Pope's authority, as are eaſily improved into theſe when ever occaſion is offered, eſpecially if any thing of private intereſt intervene, as is very obſervable in the Hiſtory of France, (though they of all Papiſts are leaſt inclined to favour the Papal Uſurpations) where ſcarce a City, unleſs reſtrained by the powerful preſence of ſome of the loyal Nobility, or inhabited moſt by Proteſtants, but did, or was ready to revolt to the League at every occaſion.

11. And here again, if we take for our Principles *two more of Bellarmine's Notes* of the true Church, viz. * *Sanctity of Doctrine, containing nothing falſe as to the Doctrine of Faith, nothing unjuſt as to the Doctrine of Manners*: and, † *Agreement in Doctrine with the ancient Church*: we may hence alſo conclude whether this Church of Rome hath continued a true and faithful Church of Chriſt, or hath indeed made that defection, which was foretold ſhould ſucceed the diſſolution of the Roman Empire, as the Chriſtians in all ages have unanimouſly and univerſally underſtood *that which ſhould be taken away*, and become the Mother of Harlots and Abominations of the Earth, which is expreſly ſaid of the myſtical Babylon, the great City which then reigned over the Kings of the Earth; the woman drunken with the blood of the Saints; whether there reigneth not *that man of ſin, the ſon of Perdition, who oppoſeth and exalteth himſelf above all that is called God*, (above all nominal Gods, as Kings and Emperors)

* C. 11.

† C. 9.

perors) *or that is worshipped,* (or reverenced) *so that he, as God, sitteth in the Temple* (the Church) *of God,* (though adulterous and apostate Church) *shewing himself that he is a God* (above all earthly Gods as Kings and Emperors, and the immediate Vicar of the true God). For the Doctrine of the Primitive and Ancient Church, how contrary that is to these Principles and Practices, every one may see in the sacred Scriptures, and it is almost vulgarly known from the writings of the ancient Christians commonly cited as to obedience to temporal Princes and Magistrates. But be this never so evident, I know it will be hard to perswade one, who hath been trained up in the Popish Principles, to believe it. Not only the prejudice of Education, but more particularly the opinion of the Perseverance and Infallibility of the Church, which above all things from their tender years is deeply rooted in their minds, will be a great obstacle and stumbling-block in their way. But let them take heed that a too particular application of a general promise do not deceive them. The Jews had as expres promises as any they can pretend; and were as zealous as they are now; and yet were deceived with lying words, saying, the Temple of the Lord, the Temple of the Lord, as they do now the Church, the holy Catholick Apostolick Roman Church.

Cum super Imperatorem non sit nisi solus Deus, qui fecit Imperatorem, dum se Donatus super Imperatorem extollit, jam quasi hominum excesserat metas, ut se, ut Deum, non hominem estimaret, &c. Optatus l. 3. which with more reason may be said of the Pope.

12. Here also *such Princes*, as having escaped these corruptions, *will again subject their necks to the Roman yoak*, may see what a snare they involve themselves in, and what a slavery they must lie under to the Papal Tyranny; how dangerous it is to have their peoples minds infected with these Principles, and their consciences directed by such Guides. And here, if there be any truth in that speech of Cardinal Perron: 'That so long as the Kings of France have kept good 'terms of concord with the Popes, they have been the more 'prosperous, and, on the contrary, when they have jarred 'with the Holy See, they have been infested with boisterous 'storms and tempests; here, I say, if this be true, they may

King James's Defence of the Right of Kings, sub fin.

perceive the true reaſon of it, viz. in the one caſe they were free from the moleſtation of the Popes and their Emiſſaries; and in the other they were infeſted by them. But how little truth there is in that aſſertion may partly appear by what hath here been written, and is alſo proved by our late learned King James in his ſolid confutation of it, by inſtances not only in France but other Countries alſo. And in England who hath been more proſperous and ſucceſful than ſhe who wholly caſt off the Pope's authority, and would not be courted to ſo much as to admit his Legate? and who more unhappy than they who have too much complyed with them?

13. Laſtly, we muſt here take notice of that which cannot but adminiſter matter of grief to all true and cordial Chriſtians; and that is *the ſcandal of theſe Principles and Practices*; the occaſion which thereby is given to thoſe who are not well acquainted with the Doctrines and Practices of the ancient genuine Chriſtians, nor have well conſidered the great evidences of the truth and excellence of the Chriſtian Religion, to ſuſpect it to be no other than what they apprehend it to be in the lives and actions of ſuch ſpurious profeſſors of it, viz. a meer Impoſture with great ſubtilty and artifice managed for ſecular ends: and *the injury which thereby is done to the holy Martyrs*, when we ſhall ſee Rebels, ſeditious Traytors and Parricides honoured and magnified as Martyrs, and that not by the vulgar only, but by their Popes themſelves and Cardinals; by their learned Writers in printed Books, and Preachers from their Pulpits; nay, when we ſhall ſee Relations in printed Books, and repreſentations by printed Cuts and Pictures of moſt horrible perſecutions and martyrdoms pretended to be ſuffered, where in truth was no ſuch matter, what a tentation may this give to weak, unlearned or prejudiced minds to ſuſpect that the ancient holy Martyrs either ſuffered not at all, or if they did, were only ſuch turbulent ſpirits or poor deluded ſouls as many of theſe? Nor hath the holy providence of God eſcaped their prophane abuſe by entitling it to ſuch trifles as a prudent Hiſtorian would diſdain to mention, and palpable lyes, as may be ſeen

in

in Sanders, Ribadeneira, and other ſuch like Writers. To which if we add the abuſe of miracles by lyes and forgeries, we ſhall find that the gates of Hell, that is, the counſels have prevailed againſt theſe degenerate ſucceſſors of Peter with a witneſs. Nor could a more effectual means be deviſed for the ſubverſion of Chriſtianity and all Religion, not the very arms of Mahomet and his ſect, than this myſtery of iniquity; nor, if it be well conſidered, hath the whole World produced any thing which doth better deſerve the name of Antichriſt. And indeed, if we conſider *the preſent growth of Atheiſm and Infidelity* among us, and trace it to its roots and original, we ſhall find it all to be of an Italian Extraction, and from thence propagated to France, and ſo to England and other parts. Nor ſhall we find any other reaſons for it than what are here mentioned; the Italians perceiving better what is acted among themſelves, than thoſe who are more remote. For let the Italian ſubtilty be what it will, I think it is plain, that they have made no deeper ſearch into either the ſecrets of Nature or of Antiquity (from one or both of which they muſt derive their principles, if they have others beſides what are here mentioned) than other Nations have made.

63. And now, before I conclude, I muſt crave leave to make this *addreſs to ſeveral ſorts of* perſons diſtinctly. And firſt, *to all Chriſtians in general*, that they will ſeriouſly conſider, whether they be not obliged for the honour and reputation of our holy Profeſſion, and whether our great Lord doth not require it of them, to declare againſt this Romiſh Faction, and their Unchriſtian, or rather Antichriſtian and abominable ſcandalous principles and practices: that is *all National Churches and Univerſities publickly by ſolemn Decrees and Proteſtations*, if not by excommunication; and *all particular private Chriſtians* by abſtaining from their communion, and coming out of that Babylon, that they be not partakers of her ſins, and receive not of her plagues.

2. *To thoſe who are not of that Communion*, and have hitherto eſcaped thoſe deluſions, that they beware that they be not again entangled therein. For it had been better for them not to

have known the way of righteouſneſs, than after they have known it, to turn from the holy Commandment. 2. That they be careful that they do not hold the truth in unrighteouſneſs, (Atrocius ſub ſancti nominis profeſſione peccatur) but walk worthy of their vocation, &c. worthy of God who hath called them to his Kingdom and Glory, out of darkneſs into his marvellous light, as children of the light, and have no fellowſhip with the unfruitful works of darkneſs, but rather reprove them, and as becometh the Goſpel of Chriſt: and that while they ſeparate from the ſcandals of others, they themſelves do not adminiſter occaſion of ſcandal to others. 3. That they who are in authority, whether in Church or State, be careful both by their example and authority, as much as in them lieth, to diſcourage and ſuppreſs all manner of vice and debauchery; and to encourage and promote all manner of virtue, and particularly piety and devotion in Religion. For as vice and debauchery, and even coldneſs and indifference in matters of Religion in any man, makes him the more obnoxious to the deluſions of the Papiſts; ſo they well perceiving ſo much by experience, are not without reaſon believed to endeavour firſt the debauching of the Nation, that the people being thereby the better prepared and diſpoſed to receive their impreſſions, they may the more eaſily compaſs their deſign; as Phyſicians, who cannot immediately cure the preſent diſtemper of their Patient, are fain many times by art to divert it into ſome other diſeaſe which they hope more eaſily to cure. Nor do the Papiſts look upon debauchery as a more dangerous diſeaſe than that they call hereſy. This is ſuch a means as is of natural efficacy to obviate and obſtruct the endeavors of the Papiſts, but of all moſt likely to be effectual by the bleſſing of God upon it; whereas the neglect of it doth both naturally expoſe the people to their deluſions, and is moſt likely to provoke the judgment of God to give them up to be deluded by them. Nor need Governors to fear that their people will prove leſs morigerous and governable, by being more devotely affected to Religion: but may well hope the contrary, provided they will require nothing of them that may be thought contrary to Religion; which

which certainly they need not, Chriſtianity containing nothing inconſiſtent with any ſolid principle of policy. 4. That they be careful to walk worthy of their vocation particularly in that wherein the Apoſtle doth particularly inſtance, and which he earneſtly urgeth, *endeavouring to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of Peace*, and * doing according to the truth in Charity; (Eph. 4. 1, 3, 15.) for it muſt be remembred that *ſeparation* and diviſion among Chriſtians is, like homicide, generally unlawful; and though the one as well as the other, in certain ſpecial caſes, and under certain circumſtances, may be not only lawful, but an indiſpenſible duty; which the Romaniſts cannot with any reaſon deny, ſince it hath been the judgment and frequent, indeed too frequent practice of that Church, both anciently, and of later ages; as is apparent in their excommunications of whole Churches, even all or moſt of the Eaſtern Churches, and in the laſt age many of the Weſtern, for no other cauſe but the reformation of many ſcandalous abuſes, which the Church or Biſhops of Rome by their Agents had transfuſed into them, whereby they do unanſwerably juſtify our ſeparation from them (were not themſelves the authors of it) for juſt and neceſſary cauſes: yet ought not this to be done but with great caution and mature deliberation, and under ſuch *conditions* as theſe; 1. That it be *juſt and neceſſary*, for juſt and neceſſary cauſes. 2. That it be done *with Charity*, and with intention and deſire to return to communion again as ſoon as the cauſes of the ſeparation are removed and reformed. 3. And therefore that it be done *with Sobriety*, not widening the difference, or quarrelling at ſuch things as may be, or ought to be tolerated, ſuch as being in their own nature indifferent, are left to the prudent ordering and diſpoſition of each particular National or Provincial Church, ſo as may be beſt for order, decency, and edification: that it proceed no further than for juſt and neceſſary cauſes it ought, leſt if we meaſure truth, as for example in this caſe, by its diſtance from Rome, we not only with many errors and abuſes caſt off ſome truths and uſeful matter of decency, but alſo become guilty of breach of Charity, while not inſiſting only upon

* Ἀληθεύοντες ἐν ἀγάπῃ.

Unaquæq; Provincia abundet in ſuo ſenſu, &c. Hier. ep. 28. v. can. ult. Concilii Epheſin.

upon what is juſt matter of exception, we contend about that which is capable of a charitable conſtruction. That theſe conditions are neceſſary to be obſerved to make breach of communion between ſeveral Churches juſtifiable in either, I think no Chriſtian will deny. And therefore as thoſe Churches which ſhall contrary to theſe conditions make a ſeparation from others, do thereby tranſgreſs the Law of Charity, and become guilty of Schiſm; ſo much more do they who ſhall ſo ſeparate from their own particular Church to which their habitation and abode doth ſubject them as ſpecial members; and beſides to their Schiſm and breach of Charity add alſo the guilt of diſobedience; and, which ought well to be conſidered among us, do thereby, though contrary to their intention, effectually cooperate with the Romiſh Agents in the promotion of their grand deſign, one of whoſe principal methods for the ſubverſion of the Reformed, and reſtauration of the Popiſh Religion, as might plainly be demonſtrated, is the raiſing and promoting of Sects, Factions and Diviſions among us; which were there no other obligation upon us, ought in reaſon to make us very wary how we do that which gives ſo great advantage to the common adverſary. 5. That they who are of chief authority in the Church be very cautious *not to adminiſter unneceſſary occaſion of ſeparation to the weakneſs of their brethren*; which may be, and frequently is done by theſe two means eſpecially; 1. *By rigorous preſſing of things in their own nature indifferent.* For though theſe things be left to the prudent ordering of each particular National or Provincial Church; yet when through the weakneſs and ſcrupuloſity of many they become matter of offence and ſcandal to them, and ſo occaſions of ſeparation, in that circumſtance they ceaſe to be indifferent, and it would be no leſs contrary to Prudence than to Charity to impoſe or longer ſtrictly to require them, and is plainly contrary to both the Doctrine and the Practice of the Apoſtle, (v. Rom. 14, & 15. & 1 Cor. 8. & 9. 20, 21, 22. & 10. 22. — and 2 Kin. 18. 4.) eſpecially in ſo dangerous a circumſtance as this, when it gives ſo great advantage to ſuch an adverſary, who ſo ſtudiouſly and induſtriouſly endeavors

our

our diviſions, it can never be approved as any way conſiſtent with prudence, and that care of the flock which all faithful Paſtors ought to have, not to allow at leaſt ſuch indulgence and liberty in ſuch things as is neceſſary to the preſervation of unity in the Church. 2. *By ſcandalous coldneſs in Religion and worldlineſs in the Clergy.* It is certain both from reaſon and experience, though perhaps not commonly obſerved, that there is ſcarce any ſo univerſal and powerful a cauſe of ſeparation and factions as this. For the generality of people do rarely judge by any other rule than that of our Saviour, by their fruits, and are therefore very apt to judge of the truth of mens Doctrine by the virtue and piety of their lives and actions. And there is a certain authority of reputation which ought always to accompany authority of Juriſdiction, and is in truth the more powerful of the two to retain people in a ſweet, voluntary, and ſo more perfect obedience; and this being loſt, the other which alone holds them only in a kind of violent and forced, not natural and genuine, obedience, is very difficult to be managed, very hazardous to be caſt off, and is ſeldom of long duration. Now the former, which is the proper authority of the Church and Clergy (for what is coercive more than bare excommunication, is in truth a branch of the Civil Authority) can never be retained by only abſtaining from thoſe we call ſcandalous ſins, but by the conſtant, ſincere and vigorous practice of thoſe great virtues of Religion, Humility, Meekneſs, Heavenly-mindedneſs, contempt of the World, devotion in Religion, and zealous endeavors for the Salvation of Souls; without which the obſervance of the rules only of ordinary moral virtues will be attributed rather to humane Prudence than to Religion. But to ſee men zealous for the accidents and formalities of Religion, and cold in the practice and promotion of the great eſſential and ſubſtantial parts, and the very buſineſs of it: to hear men cry up morality as if there was nothing more in Religion than that, and yet in the practice even of that to come far ſhort of the very Heathen Moraliſts: to ſee men prophanely turn the ſacred Profeſſion into a kind of trade; to deſign it, and apply themſelves to it no otherwiſe than

than others do to civil or ſecular employments, as a means to get a livelihood, to get wealth, honour and preferment in the World, and when they have, and perhaps by indirect means, heaped Living upon Living, and Preferment upon Preferment, accordingly uſe or rather abuſe the charity of our Anceſtors, and the revenues of the Church in ſuch indulgence to Pride, Oſtentation, voluptuous or delicious living, as would be ſcarce excuſable in the religious Laity; nay to vie with them in ſuch vanities, or inſatiably to heap up treaſures, not for the neceſſary relief of their own Families, but to raiſe great Families in the World, even of their more remote relations (that which the time hath been hath been held no leſs than ſacriledge) without any regard to ſuch works of Charity, and the promotion of Chriſtianity as all good Chriſtians, according to their ability, are obliged to. Theſe things, to which might be added the general decay and neglect of the ancient diſcipline, do more effectually weaken the proper authority of the Church and Clergy, than any Eccleſiaſtical Canons or Civil Laws can eſtabliſh it; and being naucious in the ſight of the people, provoke the more religious to run to private meetings and ſects, and the reſt to jealouſie and ſuſpitions of all Religion, to Infidelity, Irreligion and Prophaneneſs; and ſo in both give great advantage to the Romaniſts, and help forward the promotion of their labours and deſigns. The truth whereof is confirmed by the happy ſucceſs of thoſe who take a contrary courſe. For thanks be to God we are not without ſome, who by their good employment not only of the revenues of their Eccleſiaſtical preferments, but alſo of their private fortunes, their virtuous and pious lives, and their fervent, ſound and profitable Preaching, prevail with many of the ſeveral ſorts of Non-Conformiſts to become their auditors, and reclaim them. And were there ſome good and effectual courſe taken that we might have more ſuch lights ſet up in the more conſpicuous Candleſticks of the Church, we ſhould find that the moſt effectual means both to diſpel the miſts of Separatiſts, and keep out the Romiſh Foggs from overwhelming us, and to promote and eſtabliſh the honour and authority of the Church and

and Clergy. Nor would the bleſſing of God be wanting to the pious uſe of ſuch means. 6. That they, the Clergy eſpecially, will *take example by their adverſaries, and not be leſs ſtudious and induſtrious* by juſt and proper means to promote and propagate the true Religion in its genuine purity and ſimplicity, than they their errors, abuſes and corruptions of it by indirect and evil means. They compaſs Sea and Land to make Proſelytes, &c. and to that end have heretofore readily encountred all difficulties and dangers, though now they cannot much complain of either, and ſpare no pains nor coſt. We, of this Nation particularly, have long ſince had a large harveſt propoſed to us, and nothing wanting to encourage us to the work but our own good will and zeal for our Maſters ſervice; nay, like ſloathful ſervants have been whipped to our work, and both Conformiſts and Non Conformiſts have had their turns. It were well if at laſt we would be ſenſible of this duty, before a third party come and drive both to that which neither of themſelves would willingly undertake. Can we believe a Divine Providence, and yet think *the diſcovery of that other World* was a caſual thing? or can we acknowledge a Divine Providence in that, and yet believe there was no other deſign in it than to employ our Sea men, or furniſh us with Tobacco? we have reaſon to believe that this neglect hath not been diſſembled hitherto, nor will eſcape unpuniſhed for the future, unleſs timely amended. 7. That they will *not be leſs vigilant and active for the preſervation of their Religion, and with it of their lives, liberties and fortunes, and all that is dear unto them, than theſe ſons of Perdition are to confound and deſtroy them*; and to that end make diligent ſearch and enquiry into their preſent myſterious practices; for the diſcovery whereof much light may be taken from the due conſideration of their former practices, and of their principles. Their end in general is pretty well known; and what latitude they are like to take to themſelves in the choice of means for attaining that end, may not only be conjectured by their former practices, but demonſtrated unanſwerably from their certain principles. From which conſiderations, though a man that is willing might eaſily ſatisfie

himſelf what they are now doing, yet becauſe ſome who are concerned to be convinced of it, will not perhaps be ſo ſatisfied, and becauſe to the more effectual prevention of ſo great a miſchief a more particular diſcovery of the matter of fact, and of the inſtruments and circumſtances of it may be neceſſary, all who have any love to their Country, or regard to the intereſt and ſafety of themſelves or their relations, though the conſideration of Religion ſhould not move them, are concerned to uſe their utmoſt endeavour in it. But if neither the conſideration of the horrid confuſions and maſſacres heretofore raiſed in France by theſe Furies; nor of their continual Treaſons and Conſpiracies againſt Queen Elizabeth and her Kingdoms, which they then would have betrayed to the invaſions of the King of Spain, as now probably they would to the King of France, that is, thoſe who ſteer their motions, though their common agents may be generally ignorant of the deſign; nor of that horrible Gunpowder Conſpiracy againſt King James, the Royal Iſſue, and flower of the Engliſh Nobility and Gentry; nor laſtly of our late Civil Wars, which may in time be juſtly proved and demonſtrated to have been the product of the Romiſh machinations, to which might be added their reſtleſs endeavors for the ſubverſion of our Government, and for the breaking of the great Metropolis of this Nation, as the two main obſtacles in their way; if all this, and beſides all the ſafety of his Majeſties perſon, which perhaps may be further concerned in it than is commonly apprehended, be not ſufficient to awaken us of theſe Nations to a ſpeedy vigilance and activity before it be too late, to diſcover and detect their machinations, and couragiouſly oppoſe their proceedings; eſpecially thoſe who are in authority within their ſeveral Juriſdictions to look narrowly, if not into their matters of Religion, yet at leaſt into their proviſions of Arms and Ammunition, into their correſpondencies and ſecret negotiations and engagements, and eſpecially to diſcover thoſe who under ſeveral diſguiſes not only inſinuate themſelves into familiarity with perſons of Quality, and creep into their Families under the notions of Phyſitians, Painters, and other employments,

ments, but alſo get into publick offices and employments, and perhaps to be choſen into the Parliment it ſelf, it may be feared we ſhall ere long ſmart for our ſtupidity and ſupine negligence.

3. *To thoſe* who ſtill continue *of the Roman Communion*, and are in danger to be drawn in to engage in ſuch undertakings for the promotion of their Religion by fraud and force, by diſturbance or ſubverſion of Governments, raiſing or fomenting wars between Chriſtian Princes and States, and ſuch like means, that they will well *conſider the juſtice and piety* thereof. For moſt certain it is, and agreed on all hands that they are contrary to the means uſed by our Saviour, and his Apoſtles, and Diſciples, and their Succeſſors for the original propagation of the Goſpel. Nor ought it to be replyed, as ſome have impiouſly ſaid that that was for want of force, for he who could command legions of Angels is not to be thought to have wanted force if he had pleaſed to make uſe of it; nor had the Chriſtians, for many ages before theſe Unchriſtian Doctrines were ever thought of, leſs power in the World than they have had ſince, or leſs occaſion to have made uſe of it, had they thought it lawful; and beſides, it is no leſs contrary to their Doctrine than to their Practice. 2. The uſe of ſuch means is moſt injurious and ſcandalous to the moſt holy, pure and innocent Religion, which hath been always moſt propagated and glorified by the magnanimous, ſedate and conſtant ſufferings of its genuine Profeſſors, but always moſt diſhonoured by the furious, violent and perfidious practices of the ſpurious Zealots of the abuſes of it. 3. It is contrary to the very nature of the true Religion, and the expreſs Doctrine of the ſacred Scriptures. 4. It is condemned by the judgment of God, diſappointing, blaſting and confounding all attempts of that nature in theſe Kingdoms for near an hundred years together. Nor will their zeal and good intentions excuſe them; Paul had as much of both when he perſecuted the Chriſtians as they can have; and of the Jews he teſtifies to the Romans that they had the zeal of God, but not according to knowledge; and our Saviour foretold that they who ſhould kill his Diſciples would think they do God good ſervice in it. Nor will their following of the

probable opinions of their Confeſſors excuſe them; for when blind guides lead the blind, both fall into the ditch, as our Saviour ſaith. Nor will it be much comfort to them who dye in their ſins through the Prieſts default, that the Prieſt alſo ſhall anſwer for it, as the Prophet ſaith. But that which is the ſecret root and main prop of their deluſion, and moſt effectually deceives them, is an unhappy miſtaken opinion deeply rooted in their minds of the infallible authority of the particular Church of Rome. For, as Cardinal Perron hath well argued, if theſe things be unlawful which have for ſo many ages been acted by the Papal authority, (& that interpoſed with all the formality and ſolemnity that could be) it would follow that the Pope hath been Antichriſt, and the Church of Rome the Synagogue of Satan for ſo many ages paſt. This is it, whatever other ſpecious arguments and pretenſes are alledged, which makes them no leſs obſtinate in their errors than the Jews are in theirs. A deceived heart hath turned them aſide, and they cannot deliver their ſoul. But if they will but, 1. Lay aſide the prejudice of Education; 2. Conſider the great evidence there is that theſe things are contrary to Chriſtianity; 3. And with that compare the little real ground there is to believe this pretended infallible authority, it may by God's bleſſing be a good means to undeceive them: but then as to the third particular they muſt deal candidly and impartially, ſetting aſide, 1. Such proofs as concern only the perſeverance of the Church of Chriſt in general, 2. Such as concern only the authority of particular Churches over their own members; for neither of theſe make any thing for the Church of Rome more than for any other particular Church; & then what elſe they can alledge will be found to be far ſhort of what the Jews might alledge to prove that they are ſtill the true Iſrael of God. But the confounding of theſe things is that which impoſeth upon their minds and judgments. The ancient Apoſtolick Creed, and what-ever other rule of Faith is mentioned by Irenæus, Tertullian, or any of the Ancients, and were held to contain the ſum of the Chriſtian Faith, are to this day generally received and believed by all the Chriſtian World; ſo that Chriſt hath ſtill a Church upon Earth

V. King James Def. of the Right of Kings.

Earth what-ever become of the Church of Rome: the like may be ſaid of the ſacred Scriptures; but in none of theſe is the leaſt mention of any ſuch infallible authority of the Church of Rome; no, nor of any ſuch authority of the Church of Chriſt as the Church of Rome does pretend to. Nor is there any colour or pretence of proof that that authority was ever in any one age to this day the general belief of the Chriſtian World; no, nor ſo much as of the Church of Rome it ſelf for 700 years, I may truly ſay for 1100 years and more. 2. That they will likewiſe well conſider *the prudence of ſuch undertakings*, the Nobility and Gentry eſpecially of theſe Nations, who embrace the Roman Religion. They have had almoſt an hundred years experience of the ill ſucceſs and unhappy conſequence of ſuch attempts to themſelves and their party, whereby they have only made a rod for their own backs, provoking and exaſperating the ſeverity of Laws againſt themſelves; and when the Romiſh Agents had lately diſſolved the Government, and brought all things into confuſion, as is not a little apparent they did, when they had crept into the Court, and inſinuated themſelves into the ſeveral Factions of the Kingdom, by underhand dealings incenſing them one againſt another, what did they advance their cauſe by it, but only involved themſelves in the ſame publick calamity wherein they embroyled the Nation? The Emiſſaries are men who have neither Eſtates nor Fortunes to loſe or hazard, nor wives and children to ſuffer with them; and if their attempts prove unſucceſful, can eaſily retire to their Colledges again beyond Sea. And their motions and actions are ſteered by foreigners, who ſit far enough out of all danger, and in great ſecurity expect to make their profit and advantage of us all. So that both theſe have hopes of advantage without any, or any great hazard, only the more honeſt and well meaning Nobility and Gentry do certainly run a very great hazard without any probability, if things be rightly calculated, of much mending their condition at the beſt. For did they now ſuffer ſomething in their Eſtates according to the Laws (which certainly would never much be preſſe d, did they not continually incenſe the King-

dom

dom against them by restless attempts, through the instigations of the Emissaries, endangering the peace and quiet of it); yet is that in some measure recompenced by their freedom from the trouble and charge of divers publick employments; and the rest would be dearly bought off by enslaving the Kingdom again to the Roman Usurpations; and that with so much hazard both to themselves, as in respect of conscience and the justice of the undertaking, (for there is but little of true Christianity in him who will not readily suffer a greater loss, rather than venture upon an unlawful or but doubtful action): so also of the prudence of it; (for the higher they go in their attempts, there is no doubt but it will fall more heavy upon them, after so many and great provocations, if they miscarry therein, and of that the danger is greater than can easily be foreseen); and to the Kingdom in general, the peace and prosperity whereof they ought to desire and endeavour upon the account both of natural duty and of interest. For whatever some, who do not well consider it, may promise themselves, those who have Estates and Fortunes here, be their Religion what it will, are like to have their shares of whatever publick calamity or mischief is brought upon the Nation; which they who at Rome and from other foreign parts do steer the motions of the Emissaries and other sticklers here in that cause, are not much concerned to consider. * * *

4. And lastly, *to those who* either through weakness and inconsiderateness *are scandalized* at these and such like wicked practices of the Romanists or any others professing Christianity; or through wilfulness and wickedness do make use thereof to confirm or encourage themselves in their affected infidelity, who having first sinned themselves into despair of any good by the observance of Religion, at last seek to encourage themselves against all fear of evil by the neglect of it. This last sort I intended not among Christians in general, and yet do here joyn them with the other sort here mentioned, because what is to be said to those may be said also to these. The scandal and ill use that is made of these practices is either more particular from abuse of pretended miracles and martyrdoms, whereby some may be induced to doubt of the ancient Christian Miracles and Martyrs; (and for satisfaction in this particular, I shall here for brevity take refer them

them to the writings already written and extant in print, ſome in the Engliſh Tongue, of the verity of the Chriſtian Religion) or from ſuch practices in general, of men in great place in Church or State, or repute for Learning, as are thought inconſiſtent with a real belief of what they poſſeſs, whence ſome who affect to know more than the vulgar will needs perſwade themſelves and others that all ſuch are Atheiſts and Infidels, and thereupon bring all Religion under a ſuſpition of being nothing elſe but a more refined piece of policy; and becauſe I have found by experience that many have no better arguments for their affected infidelity than this, and yet few of thoſe who have written of the verity of the Chriſtian Religion have taken any notice of it, or thought it worth a particular anſwer, I ſhall recommend theſe things to their conſideration: 1. That this is no argument or evidence againſt Religion, but only a bare ſuppoſed opinion and judgment of ſuch perſons without any evident and expreſs ground or reaſon for it. 2. That the opinion or judgment of great Stateſmen or Scholars, meerly as ſuch, is of no greater authority in this particular than the judgment or opinion of other men; for ſuch men may in general well deſerve that reputation which they have, and yet be utterly ignorant of thoſe Principles which are neceſſary to be known to ground a judgment in this caſe. There are very rarely found any men that are well skilled in all the parts of Learning, or of ſome one profeſſion; as for example of the Law, ſome are good Conveyancers, who are very unskilful in Bar-Practice; many good Chancery-men who are no great Common Lawyers, &c. So in Divinity, ſome are well skilled in Textual, ſome in Polemical, or Scholaſtical, ſome in Caſuiſtical Divinity, and yet but meanly skilled in the other parts of it; and this part which conſiders the evidences of Religion, is but rarely ſtudied by any but ſuch as have to do with Infidels, each man ordinarily applying himſelf eſpecially to that part to which his peculiar employment engageth him, and uſually men in great place have of all others leaſt leiſure for this particular ſtudy. 3. But were their judgment never ſo conſiderable, yet could it not in this caſe be certainly concluded from their actions. For, 1. It is agreed by all ſorts of men, Chriſtians and Heathens, and daily experience confirmeth the ſame, that men frequently act contrary

to

to their ſetled judgment; and who may not often truly ſay, Video meliora proboq; deteriora ſequor? Nor is the thing it ſelf more apparent than the reaſons of it. But I ſhall not here trace it to its firſt and original cauſes, but only ſhew it in its next and immediate cauſes, which are Surprize, Impotence, and Preſumption. From *Surprize* there is certainly no man whoſe care and caution can always ſecure him, that he may not ſometimes through the heat of paſſion or ſuddenneſs of a tentation be
* Gal. 6. 1. * overtaken. This we may all obſerve in our ſelves, and in moſt we familiarly converſe with. Nay, our very caution it ſelf in many things makes us apt to be ſurprized by fear, and thereupon to do thoſe things we otherwiſe would not, or neglect what we would otherwiſe do. And though there be not a like *Impotence* in all, yet is there more or leſs in every one, whence men often do themſelves contrary to what they would adviſe their children or deareſt friends. We daily ſee thoſe who doubt not the directions of their Phyſitians to be good and neceſſary to be obſerved, yet frequently overcome to tranſgreſs them to the hazard of their health and life it ſelf; nay Phyſitians themſelves do the ſame, whereof I could give a late notable inſtance in one of the moſt famous of his time. Nor are we to think great Stateſmen, Polititians and learned men more exempt from all impotence than others are. It is ſufficient that they be well qualified for the places they hold, to which their very impotence in ſome reſpects may ſometime be a ſpecial qualification; and they who are not eaſily overcome by one paſſion or affection, may yet be perfectly enſlaved to another. What is wanting to theſe two cauſes is frequently made up by *Preſumption*, whether upon God's mercy in general, and hope of pardon upon an intended repentance afterward, or upon the priviledg of being within the pale of the Church by profeſſion of Chriſtianity, or being members of the Catholick Church, or zealous for the party they eſpouſe, that is as the Prophet ſaith, *Truſting in lying words, ſaying, The Temple*
Jer. 7. 3. *of the Lord, The Temple of the Lord, The Temple of the Lord*; a Preſumption ſo powerful heretofore, that notwithſtanding that reproof, and after a notable experience of the vanity of it, we find it in our Saviour's days ſtill continued, and again reproved by John Baptiſt; Think not to ſay within your ſelves we have

Abraham

Abraham to our Father, &c. Mat. 3. 9. And yet after all this, as experience sheweth, still prevalent in our days, and very common among the Romanists and the Disciples of the Jesuites, especially their new Proselytes, who seem to hope for indulgence in their sinful courses, or to expiate the same, by their zeal for the Church; whereunto great occasion is given by their abominable abuse of Absolution, Commutation of Penance, Indulgences and complying Conduct. 2. These actions may proceed from *error in the understanding*, and ignorance or mistake about some particular Christian Doctrine, through an *erronious Conscience* thinking that to be lawful, or a Christian duty, which is absolutely unlawful; and this may be consistent with a firm belief of the Christian Doctrine in general. And this I take to be in truth the case of the Romanists, and that they are given up to believe a lye through strong delusions, wherein they do not more deceive their disciples than they are themselves deceived; for do but admit me one or two of their Principles, and there is nothing so monstrous in their actions but I think I can easily prove it lawful. I had therefore intended to have shewed from what Principles those actions have proceeded; that those Principles are mistaken, and are no Christian but rather Antichristian Doctrines; what hath been the cause, occasion and progress of that mistake; and lastly, that this defection from the Christian Doctrine and Manners hath been foretold by the first Propagators of the Christian Faith, in that manner as I think would not only do much to the removing of the scandal, but moreover afford no inconsiderable evidence to the truth of Christianity it self: but that I see would be too long for this place and time; but I am well assured of the truth of what I say, and doubt not but ere long it will be made manifest. 3. There is one cause more from whence men may act contrary to Christianity, and that in the highest degree, and yet without the disbelief of the Truth of it in general, or of any particular Doctrine of it: and that is through *desperation*, the case of some who believe and tremble, Ja. 2. 19. When men by frequency and long continuance in sin against the light and checks of conscience have sinned

So our Saviour telleth his Disciples that they who should kill them would think they do God service, Jo. 16. 2. and Saul thought that he ought to persecute the Christians, Act. 26. 9.

themſelves into this deſperation, this is often an occaſion to them to a further progreſs in wickedneſs, even to the height of the moſt enormous ſins, though they neither do, nor can doubt of the truth of the Chriſtian Religion, no more than do the Devils who believe and tremble; for there is no ſin which is not conſiſtent with a full perſwaſion of it in ſuch as are once become deſperate indeed. Even ſcoffing at and abuſe of Religion to evil ends are no certain arguments of unbelief in ſuch as uſe them. There may be and are falſe Profeſſors of Atheiſm and Infidelity as well as of Religion it ſelf. There is more or leſs of humane frailty in all. Too many ſin againſt knowledg, and ſome thereby ſin themſelves into deſpair, and then run on into all wickedneſs againſt that Belief which they would fain caſt off if they could. And there are ſo many cauſes and occaſions of ſins beſides unbelief, that they cannot in reaſon be attributed to it alone. 4. And laſtly, conſidering the ſtrange wild fancies, which we often ſee men, learned men, and otherwiſe ſober men, fall into; conſidering the great force & prevalence that the will & affections have to byaſs, blind, and corrupt the judgment; conſidering the power, and malice, and ſubtilty that, according to the Scriptures, the God of this World hath to blind mens minds that they ſhould not believe the Goſpel of Truth, it is not to be doubted but ſuch there are who do not believe it; but then the very ſame reaſons may ſatisfy us what little credit there is to be given to the opinions of ſuch men, without better reaſon: and yet I know and have found by experience that ſome profeſſors of Infidelity have no better reaſons than this; they are like men in a panick fear, where every one is afraid, but none knoweth the cauſe, only he ſuppoſeth the reſt do, and is ſo much the more afraid by how much the more in number they are whom he ſuppoſeth to be in the ſame paſſion with himſelf: ſo, many who have no reaſon at all for their unbelief, yet ſuppoſe others have, and would fain be thought as wiſe as they.

This I thought neceſſary to add as an Antidote againſt that poiſon which ſome might ſuck from thoſe ſcandalous Practices and Actions which have been here related.

FINIS.

POPISH
POLICIES and *PRACTICES*
Represented in the
HISTORIES
OF THE
PARISIAN MASSACRE;
GUN-POWDER TREASON;
CONSPIRACIES
Against Queen *ELIZABETH*,
AND
PERSECUTIONS
OF THE
PROTESTANTS in FRANCE.

Translated and Collected out of the famous *THUANUS* and other Writers of the Roman Communion.

WITH A

DISCOURSE
CONCERNING THE
ORIGINAL of the POWDER-PLOT.

LONDON;
Printed for *John Leigh*, at the Sign of the *Blew-Bell* over against the Inner-Temple-Gate in *Fleet-street*, 1674.

461:07

THE HISTORY OF THE Bloody Maſſacres OF THE PROTESTANTS IN FRANCE IN THE Year of our LORD, 1572.

WRITTEN

In Latin by the Famous *HISTORIAN* *J A. AUG. THUANUS*, and faithfully rendred into Engliſh.

LONDON;

Printed for *John Leigh* at the Sign of the *Blew-Bell* by *Flying-horſe*-Court in *Fleet-ſtreet*, 1674.

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

Bloody Massacres

OF THE

PROTESTANTS

IN

FRANCE

In the

Year of our LORD, 1572.

463:07

A brief Introduction to the History of the MASSACRE.

THE Lords of the House of Guise, whether through the instigation of the Jesuites, whom they first introduced into France, and highly favoured, or through their emulation * against the Princes of the Blood who favoured the Reformed Religion, or both, professing themselves great zealots for the Papal Authority, and irreconcilable enemies to the Hugonots, (as they called them of the Reformed Religion) especially after the dissentions grew high between them and the Princes, to whom they doubted not but the Protestants would adhere, as well upon the account of Religion as of the Right of the Princes, having * by force gotten the young King Charles 9. into their hands, endeavoured by all means to raise in his mind as great prejudice and hatred against the Protestants and the chief men of their

* V. Discourse, sect. 40.

* V. Disc. sect. 41.

their party as poſſible. The young King thus trained up in prejudice againſt them, and moreover from his youth inured to cruelty, and the ſlaughters of his Subjects even in cold blood, whereof by the D. of Guiſe he had been early made a ſpectator, was ſcarce out of his minority when he was ivited by the Pope, the K. of Spain, and the D. of Savoy to joyn in a holy League for the extirpation of the Hereticks: but being by nature of an Italian genius, and well inſtructed by his Mother in the policies of her Country, he choſe as a more ſafe and ſurer way to attempt that rather by ſecret ſtratagems and ſurprize than by open hoſtility. And therefore at an enterview at Bayonne *between him with his Mother, and his Siſter the Queen of Spain accompanied with the D. of Alva, having by the way had ſecret conference at Avignon with ſome of the Pope's truſty Miniſters (the Pope having perſwaded that meeting, and earneſtly preſſed the King of Spain himſelf to be preſent at it) it was concluded to cut off the chief heads of the Proteſtants, and then, in imitation of the Sicilian Veſpers, to ſlaughter all the reſt to the laſt man. But the de-*

V. D'ſc. ſect. 42.

ſign

ſign being diſcovered to the Prince of Conde, Colinius and others of the Nobility, when they perceived ſuch preparations made for the execution of it, as, unleſs timely prevented, they were likely ſuddenly to be all deſtroyed, they put themſelves into a poſture of defence, whereupon broke out a Civil War. But that being contrary to the deſign to effect the buſineſs by ſtratagem and ſurprize, it was in few months compoſed for the preſent; but ſhortly after, when the ſame deſign was again perceived to be carried on, and the like inevitable danger approached as neer as before, was again renewed in the former manner, and continued ſomewhat longer and hotter than before. Whereupon the King perceiving that the greateſt difficulty was to beget and confirm in the Proteſtant Nobility a truſt and confidence in himſelf, uſed all arts imaginable to do that; and to that purpoſe in all ſolemn manner granting and confirming to the Proteſtants in France very fair terms of peace and ſecurity, he at the ſame time pretended a reſolution to make a war with Spain, entred into a League with the Queen of England, and with the Proteſtant Prin-

V. Diſc. ſect. 43.

V. Diſc. ſect. 45.

Princes of Germany; and, which was the principal part of the policy, propoſed a match between the Prince of Navar, the firſt Prince of the Blood, and chief of the Proteſtant Party, and his Siſter Margaret, as that which would not only ſerve his purpoſe to beget a confidence in the Proteſtants of his ſincerity and good intention, but moreover affurd him a fair opportunity at the ſolemnization of the Marriage, of effecting his deſign at laſt, which had been ſo often and ſo long diſappointed. All which having managed with wonderful art and diſſimulation, he at laſt obtained what he deſired, as in the following Hiſtory is more particularly related.



THE HISTORY OF THE MASSACRES OF THE Protestants at PARIS, and many other places in FRANCE, in the Year of our Lord, 1572.

1. THE day of the Nuptials [*between Henr. King of Navar and Margaret Sister to the King of France*] drawing on; which was appointed the *15th. of the Kalends of September; the King by Letters solicits Coligni, that he should come to Paris, having before given in charge to Claudius Marcellus Provost of the Merchants, that he should see to it, that no disturbance did arise upon Colignie's coming to Paris. *Lib.* 5. * *August* 18 *th.*

ris. Likewiſe *Proclamation* was *publiſhed* the third of the
July 5th. Nones of July, when he was at *Caſtrum-Bononiæ*, about two miles from the City, wherein it was forbidden, that any of what condition ſoever ſhould dare to renew the memory of things paſt, give occaſion of new quarrels, carry piſtols, fight duels, draw their ſwords, eſpecially in the King's retinue at Paris, and in the Suburbs, upon pain of death. But if any difference ſhould ariſe among the Nobles concerning their Honour or Reputation, they ſhould be bound to bring their plaint to the Duke of Anjou, the King's Deputy throughout the whole Kingdom, and to pray juſtice of him: if they were of the Commons, they ſhould betake themſelves to the High Chancellor de l'Hoſpital: if it ſhall happen among thoſe that ſhall not be in the Court, but in Paris, they ſhall go before the ordinary Magiſtrate. It was alſo provided by the ſame Proclamation, that thoſe who were not of the Courts of any of the Princes or Nobles, or of the Retinue of others, or were not detained upon ſome neceſſary buſineſs, but were of uncertain abode and habitation about Paris or the Suburbs, ſhould depart from the Court & City within 24 hours after the publication of this Edict, upon the ſame pain of death. This was publiſhed for three days together, with the ſound of Trumpet in the Court, and through the City, and it was ordered that the publication ſhould be repeated week by week upon the Sabbath-day. Alſo there was adjoyned to the guards of the King's body for his greater ſecurity, a guard of 400 choice Souldiers; all which *Coligni* full of confidence and good aſſurance ſo *interpreted*, as if the King deſirous of the publick Peace, did (only) prepare a contrary ſtrength againſt thoſe which were ſeditious, and movers of troubles. Therefore he *comes into the City*, though *many* were greatly *diſturbed at it:* to whom, when they importunately dehorted him both by letter and word of mouth, he, after he had given them thanks, anſwered in one word; "That he was reſolved "now that Peace was concluded, and things paſt forgotten, "to rely upon the faith of the King, and that he had rather "be dragged through the ſtreets of Paris, than to take up "Civil Arms again.

2. Among

2. Among other *letters* there was one *brought to him* being now come to Paris, written very ſmartly after this manner. 'Remember that it is an eſtabliſhed Decree of the Papiſts, 'upon the account of Religion, and confirmed by the autho-'rity of Councils, that Faith is not to be kept with hereticks; 'in the number of which Proteſtants are accounted. Remem-'ber alſo that Proteſtants upon the account of the former 'Wars, do lie under an eternal odium; ſo that it is not to be 'doubted but this is the Queens reſolution, that Proteſtants 'be rooted out by any means whatſoever. Add to this that 'it cannot be, but that a woman that is a ſtranger, and an Ita-'lian, deſcended of the race of the Popes, (whom they op-'poſe) and of a Florentine and guileful nature, ſhould ſtudy 'all extremities againſt her enemies. Conſider moreover in 'what School the King was educated, in which he drew in 'with his milk under his good Tutors this Doctrine; 'that he ſhould make it a ſport to ſwear and forſwear, to 'uſe the name of God profanely, to defile himſelf with 'Whoredomes and Adulteries, to diſſemble his Faith, Religi-'on, Counſels, to ſet his countenance (according to occaſion). 'And that he might be accuſtomed to the effuſion of the 'bloud of his Subjects, he was taught from his childhood 'to behold the ſlaughters and butcheries of * beaſts: that he is 'ſetled in this perſwaſion to ſuffer no Religion in his King-'dom but that which may uphold his ſtate, (according to the 'opinion of his Maſter Machiavel) otherwiſe it would never 'be at Peace, ſo long as two Religions flouriſhed in it, and that 'it was inſtilled into his ears that the Proteſtants did decree 'to ſpoil him of his Life and Empire. And therefore he 'would never ſuffer the Proteſtants who had once, whether 'upon a juſt or unjuſt cauſe, taken up Arms againſt him, to 'enjoy the benefit of his Edict, but that he would with Arms 'revenge what was done with Arms againſt him; nor would 'he look upon himſelf obliged to keep his Covenants which 'he had entred into with his armed Subjects. Theſe are the 'Arts of Princes, the Elements of Policy, the Arcana Impe-'rii. So Commodus of old commanded Julian, whom 'he owned and embraced as his Father, to be ſlain. Thus

* And of men alſo, *v. l.* 24. *p.* 275.

'Antonius Caracalla, under pretence of mustering, slew the 'prime youth of the City. So Lysander cut the throats of 'eight hundred Milesians called together under pretence of 'friendship and society. So Sergius Galba raged upon six thou- 'sand Spaniards: and lately by the command of Antonius 'Spinola, the chief men of the Isle of Corsica were called to- 'gether to a Feast, and slain. In our memory did Christiern 'a King of a barbarous nature use the same arts in the Massa- 'cre of Stockholm. So heretofore Charles 7, though recon- 'ciled to the Duke of Burgundy, yet abstained not from kil- 'ling him, though he begged for his life. Nor are the discour- 'ses that the King lately had with his mother at Blois un- 'known. For when in a jocular manner profanely using, as 'his custom is, the name of God, he asked her whether he 'had not acted his part handsomely at the coming of the 'Queen of Navar? the Queen answered that he had begun 'well, but these beginnings would little advantage him unless 'he proceeded; But I, said he, with often repeated oaths, will 'bring them all into your toils. From these words, the truth 'whereof you may be assured of, you ought to take coun- 'sel, and if you are wise get out of the City, and so from the 'Court, as from a most filthy sink, with all the speed as may 'be.

3. *Coligni* having read this letter, though he was not a lit- tle troubled at it, yet that he might not seem altogether to neglect the admonitions and intreaties of his friends, made answer; 'That there was no place left for these suspitions, 'that he could never perswade himself that so great perfidi- 'ousness could enter into so good a King, than whom France 'for this many years never had a better. That Anjou indeed 'was more averse to the Protestant party, but that hatred 'would now cease, even out of respect to the affinity con- 'tracted with the King of Navar. For the rest, the League 'entred into with England, and that which the King was 'now making with the Protestant Princes of the Empire, did 'sufficiently shew how he stood affected to the Protestants, 'when as he would have one of the Sons of the Elector Pa- 'latine in his retinue: and some one of the English Nobles,

'as

'as Leicester or Burgleii, who were most forward for the religi-
'on. Moreover he had given his Faith to the Prince of
'Orange and Nassau his Brother concerning aids against the
'Spaniards, and that a great supply was preparing in the
'place of those who were routed under Jenlis their leader.
'That John Galeacius Fulgosius, who lately returned from
'Florence, did assure them, that Cosunus would lend the
'King two hundred thousand Aurei towards that War. That
'the King's Ambassador did carefully pry into the counsels
'of the Duke of Alva, and daily acquaint the King with
'them. That this he knew every day from the King. That
'the Navy that Philip Strossy and Polinius Garda do com-
'mand at Broage, and upon the Coasts of Poictou was not
'prepared to any other use but to disturb the Spanish Fleet,
'which being done, it shall go to help the Prince of Orange
'at Flushing. As for himself and his own particular safety,
'all might be secure of that; for that he through the King's
'means is reconciled to the Guises, each engaging their Faith
'to the King, that they would neither of them hereafter im-
'peach one the other. Lastly, that the King did all he could
'to make Peace at home and War abroad, and that he might
'transfer the War into the Low-Countreys, and against the
'Spaniards. Wherefore he prayed the Author of the wri-
'ting, and others that are of his mind, that they would no
'more with these suspitions trouble his mind, which was ta-
'ken up with more weighty businesses, and better designs,
'but rather that they would, joyning their prayers with his,
'beg of God that he would prosper things so well begun,
'and bring them at last to an happy end, for the good of the
'Church and Kingdom.

4. *The same things were written to Coligni from the Rochellers*, which he did in as friendly manner take off with all moderation and constancy. Therefore when they could not divert him from that mind, they set upon *the King of Navar* with Letters dated 6 of the Eids of July, in which they *debort him* upon the same accounts, that he should take care of himself, and not go to Paris. He was then at the Nuptials † of Henricus Condæus his Unckle's Son, and Mary of Cleve his *July* 10*th.*

† *Vid. l.* 50. *p.* 787.

his near Kinſwoman, which were celebrated at Blandia a Caſtle of Jo. Roan Marchioneſs of Rotelin, who was Mother to Frances of Aurleans * laſt Wife to Lewis of Conde, within the juriſdiction of Melun. Therefore he deſpiſing the warnings of his Friends, the Nuptials of the Prince of Conde being finiſhed, *comes to Paris* with him, and a great retinue of Proteſtants in the beginning of Auguſt, where *new delays* are purpoſely invented by the Queen; for whereas at firſt there was hope given of favour to be obtained from the Pope by the Cardinal of Lorain, who was then at Rome, to remove the obſtacle of proximity and difference in Religion, a Breve was brought to Charles Cardinal of Burbon, deſigned to finiſh the buſineſs; wherewith notwithſtanding he ſaid he he was not ſatisfied: therefore he deſired another more full might be ſent from Rome, wherein it might be more amply provided for him. Therefore the King laid the fault of the delay upon the Cardinal of Burbon, who he ſaid, by way of ſcorn, was tied up by ſuperſtition, and I know not what ſcruples of conſcience; and by that means great injury was done to his Margarite (ſo he called his Siſter) who bore it very impatiently to have the fruit of her ſo long expected joy deferred.

* *Vid. l.* 35. *p.* 559.

5. When in the mean time *Coligni preſſed that the publick proclaiming of the Low-Countrey War* ſo often deliberated about, and approved of, and now whether he would or not begun, might be no longer deferred, he again made delays, and declined it, and often replied to him, importuning him, that he had not any Counſellor or Officer of his Army to whoſe faithfulneſs, induſtry and diligence he could commit ſo great an affair. For ſome were wholly addicted to the party of the Guiſes; others had other faults of their own: of his Secretaries there was only Bernardus Fiza whom he could entruſt with this ſecret. At laſt it was agreed that the affair ſhould be committed to Momorancy and Fiza: with which ſhews of unfeigned familiarity, as he took it, and ingenuous freedom, Coligni being deceived, would not perſwade himſelf any thing otherwiſe than of truly Kingly virtue, or think hardly of the moſt excellent King.

6. Amidſt

6. Amidſt theſe delays (thoſe) things, as it ſhould ſeem, being altogether compoſed, about which before there was a difference among the Conſpirators, there came *Letters* by ſecret comport *from the King's Ambaſſador with the Pope*, in which the King is certified of a diſpenſation now granted, and ſhortly to be ſent from Rome by Poſt, wherein the ſcrupulous conſcience of Burbon was fully ſatisfied: therefore when, upon the 16*th.* of the Kalends of September, they were *contracted* by Cardinal Borbon in the Louvre, the next day after *the Nuptials* were *celebrated.* *Auguſt* 17*th.*

An high Scaffold is erected before the gates of the great Church, by which they deſcended by ſtairs unto a lower Scaffold, which being on every ſide railed in to keep off the multitude, did lead through the Church to the inner apartment commonly called the Chore. From thence another Scaffold encompaſſed with rails did receive thoſe that went out of the Chore toward the left gate, which reached to the Biſhop's Palace; thither came out of the Louvre with all Royal Pomp, and moſt magnificent ſhew, the King, the Queen-Mother, with the Brethren the Dukes of Anjou and Alanſon, the Guiſes, the Colonels of the Horſe, the chief Peers of the Kingdom leading along the Bride, who lodged that night in the Biſhop's Palace. And from the other part, the King of Navar, with the Princes of Conde and Contie his Couſins, Coligni Admiral of the Sea, Franciſcus Count de la Roche-foucault, and a great company of the Proteſtant Nobles, who came together out of all Provinces of the Kingdom.

When the King had aſcended to that higher Scaffold, the Ceremonies in manner as was agreed being performed by Cardinal Borbon, the King and Navar with his Party came by the lower Scaffold into the Chore, where having placed his Wife before the great Altar to hear Maſs, he with Coligni and Count de la Roche-fou-eault, and the other Nobles of his Retinue went into the Biſhop's Palace by the contrary door afore-mentioned; from whence after Maſs was ended, being recalled by D'Anvil, he came into the Chore again, and kiſſing his new Bride before the King, Queen, and the Brethren, when they had entertained one another ſome little while with diſcourſe,

diſcourſe, they returned into the Biſhop's Palace, where dinner was provided. And I well remember when as Maſs being ended, I was admitted through the rails into the Chore, and ſtanding nigh to Coligni, while I fixed my eyes upon him, and curiouſly obſerved him, I heard him ſay, diſcourſing with d'Anville, and looking up to the Enſigns fattned up and down, and the ſad Monuments of the Battel of Baſſac and Moncountour, "That ere long theſe being taken down, others "more pleaſing ſhould be ſet up in their places: which words, then he meant of the Low-Country War, which as he thought was now reſolved upon, others interpreted as though he had thoughts of a new Civil War, which he ſo much abhorred.

7. After Dinner they went into the Palace, where a royal Supper was prepared, and all orders of the City and the Senate, together with the Courts of Accounts, Cuſtoms and Treaſury are entertained according as is uſual in a moſt ſumptuous manner: a ſhort time was ſpent in dancing; afterwards *interludes* were brought in. The repreſentation of three Rocks filvered over, upon which the three Brethren, the King, the Duke of Anjou, and Duke of Alanſon did ſit, and ſeven more, upon which Gods and Sea-monſters were ſet, which followed, being drawn along in Coaches, and were brought through the great Hall of the Palace, which was divided by a triumphal arch in the middle, and when they made a ſtand, ſome choice Muſitians recited Verſes in their own Tongue, compoſed by the beſt of their Poets. And thus a great part of the night being ſpent in interludes, they afterwards betook themſelves to their reſt.

The *next day* being not able to riſe before the Sun was got high, at three a clock after-noon they went to dinner at the Duke of Anjou's Palace, where after dancing they went toward the evening to the Louvre.

The *day following* being *Wedneſday*, running at Tilt, and *interludes* which had been a long while in preparing, were *exhibited at the Cardinal Bourbon's Palace*: there were repreſented upon the right hand the Manſions of the bleſſed, and a little below the Elyſian-fields poſſeſſed by 12 Nymphs, on the

the other ſide on the left-hand was repreſented Hell flaming with fire and brimſtone, and full of ſprights and frightful ghoſts. The Brethren, the King, the Duke of Anjou, and the Duke of Alanſon defended Paradiſe as they called it: which many Knights Errant ſeeking to break into, of whom Navar was Captain; they were every one of them repulſed, and at laſt thrown headlong down into Hell. Then Mercury riding upon a Cock, and together with him Cupid came ſliding down to the defendants, and then after much diſcourſe with them returned into Heaven. Then the three defendants came to the Nymphs wandring in the pleaſant green fields, and led them into the middle of the Hall, where the Spectators were with much pleaſure entertained with new Dances about the Fountain for a full hour. Then the defendants being prevailed upon by their entreaties, the Knights Errant that were ſhut up in Hell were releaſed; who preſently in a confuſed skirmiſh break their ſpears: at laſt the Gunpowder that was laid by pipes about the Fountain being fired, fire broak forth with a great noiſe, and conſumed all their Scenes, and ſo all departed.

This ſhew was variouſly interpreted, for that the aſſailants who were moſt of them Proteſtants, did in vain attempt to get into the ſeats of the bleſſed, and were afterwards thruſt down into Hell: for ſo they put a mockery upon the Proteſtants, and others did bode that it portended ſome miſchief. However, certain it is, that *Francis E. of Momorancy*, whether ſuſpecting ſome evil, or being indiſpoſed by reaſon of the toſſing of the Sea, as lately returned from his Ambaſſy in England, having obtained leave of the King, *went to Chantilly* for his healths ſake; leaving in the Court Henry d'Anville, Carolus Meruvius, and Gulielmus Thoræus (his) Brethren, and that very happily for that moſt Illuſtrious Family: for it was the general opinion, that the plotters of the following Maſſacre would have comprehended them all in this conſpiracy, had they not feared that Momorancy, who was now abſent, would have revenged it. *V. Da. p. 370.*

The *next day* being *Thurſday*, there was running at *Tilts* held in the Court-yard of the Louvre, in which on the one

ſide the King and his Brethren, together with the Duke of Guiſe, and the Duke of Aumale in the habit of Amazons; and on the other ſide the King of Navar, with his party in Turkiſh habits, contended with their launces; Scaffolds being ſet up on either ſide, from which the Queen-Mother, the King's Wife, Lorain, and all the Court-Ladies beheld the ſports.

8. Two days before the Counſel concerning the Maſſacre being not yet concluded, *the King* with great ſhew of kindneſs *beſpeaks Coligni* (thus). 'You know, Father, (ſo he cal-'led him upon the account of his age and honour) what you 'undertook to me, that you would offer no injury, ſo long as 'you are at Court, to the Guiſes: and they again engaged, 'that they, as they ought, would behave themſelves toward 'you and yours honourably and modeſtly. I repoſe very 'great truſt in your words, but I have not the like confidence 'in their promiſes. For, beſides that I know the Guiſes do 'by all means ſeek revenge, I know their daring and haughty 'nature, and in what favour they are with the people of Pa-'ris. It would be a very great grief to me, if they who un-'der pretence of coming to the Marriage, have brought with 'them a great party of ſouldiers well appointed, ſhould at-'tempt any thing to your hurt; for that would be an injury 'to my ſelf: Therefore, if you think it expedient, I think it 'convenient, *that the Regiment of the Guards be drawn into the* 'City under theſe Commanders, (then he named thoſe who 'were no way ſuſpected), who, if any turbulent perſons at-'tempt any thing, may be ready at hand to ſecure the publick 'Peace.

To ſuch friendly diſcourſe Coligni eaſily yielded his aſſent out of a deſire of domeſtick Peace, and being already overcome by the Court-flatteries: therefore a Regiment is drawn within the walls, without any ſuſpition of the Proteſtants.

9. This being done, *they enter into Counſel* * *again*, and after ſome debate the thing was left undetermined, their opinions vary

* *Lib.* 51. He mentions a former Conſultation between the Queen-Mother, Anjou, Cardinal Lorain, Aumale, Guiſe, Birage, and others in the ſame Chamber, wherein Guiſe was afterwards by the King's Command killed, and afterwards in the ſame buildings where the King himſelf Henr. 3. here called Anjou, was murthered by a Fryer.

varying according to the condition of places, and of the perſons admitted to the Council. For thus it was diſcourſed *before the King*, with whom were in Council the Queen-Mother, the Duke of Anjou, and others.

'There are *two factions* in the Kingdom; one of the Mo-'morancies, to whom the Colignies were formerly added, but 'now upon the account of Religion, by which they have en-'gaged many (to them), they conſtitute *a new faction*. The 'other is of the Guiſes: nor will France ever be quiet, or 'that Majeſty that is taken from Kings by the Civil Wars 'thence ariſing, ever be reſtored till the chief of their 'Heads who diſturb the moſt flouriſhing Empire, and the pub-'lick Peace, be ſtricken off. They, by the troubles of the 'Kingdom, have grown to ſo great Power, that they cannot 'be taken away at the ſame time: they are *ſeverally to be ta-'ken off, and ſet one againſt the other*, that they may deſtroy 'one another. Coligni muſt be begun with who only ſur-'vives of his Family, who being taken out of the way, it 'would much weaken the Momorancies, who lie under ſo 'great an odium upon the account of their joyning with 'Coligni. But this is an unworthy thing, and not to be ſuf-'fered by you, (ſaid they, directing their diſcourſe to the 'King), that a man whom only Nobility commends, one that 'is advanced to honour by the favour of Kings, now grown 'burdenſom to the Nobility, equal to Princes in honour, 'grievous to your ſelf, ſhould come to that height of madneſs 'and boldneſs, that he ſhould count it a ſport to mock at 'Royal Majeſty, and every day at his own luſt to raiſe Wars 'in the Kingdom. Certainly his madneſs is above all things 'by you, if you be indeed King, to be reſtrained, that by his 'example all may learn to bear their fortunes decently, and 'uſe them modeſtly. Nor only ſhall the faction of the Mo-'morances be broken by his death, but the power of the 'Proteſtants ſhall be over-turned: of which, when he is the 'very heart and ſoul, in him alone the Proteſtants ſeem to 'live, and he being dead, they will fall with him. This 'is not only uſeful, but neceſſary for ſetling the publick 'Peace, when as experience doth ſhew, that as one houſe can-

'not keep two Dogs, nor one tree relieve two Parrots, ſo one
'and the ſame Kingdom cannot bear two Religions. This
'may be done without danger or blame, if ſome cut-throat,
'as there are enough of them to be had, be ſuborned to take
'away the life of Coligni, encouraged by ſome preſent re-
'ward, and hopes of future; who having done the thing,
'may make his eſcape by the help of a light horſe prepared
V. Dav. p 368, 370 The opinion of Alberto Gondi Coun. of Rerz. 'for that purpoſe. For then, without doubt, the Proteſtants,
'who are very numerous in the City, ſuppoſing it to be done
'by the Guiſes, will preſently, as you know they are a furious
'ſort of people, take up Arms, and ſetting upon the Guiſians,
'they ſhall eaſily be cut off by their greater numbers; (for
'the people of Paris are much addicted to them), and per-
'haps the Momorances ſo hateful to the Pariſians, ſhall be in-
'volved in the ſame tumult. But if the thing proceed not
'ſo far, yet at leaſt the blame of the fact, from which you
'ſhall receive great advantage, ſhall be tranſlated from you
'upon the Guiſians, (as bearing yet in memory the murder
'of their Father) whom, having deſtroyed their Rivals, you
'ſhall ſoon reduce into good order. This thing being done,
'you ſhall forthwith be able to determine concerning the
'chief leaders of the Proteſtants, whom you have in your
'power, who, no doubt, will return to their old Religion,
'and due allegiance to you when evil Counſellors ſhall be re-
'moved.

And when it was debated in *the Queens Council* among thoſe that were to be truſted, their diſcourſe went further, that not only the Momorances with Coligni ſhould be taken off, but that the Guiſians ſhould at ſome fit opportunity be ſlain, as thoſe whom the Queen ought in no wiſe to truſt or ſpare, being heretofore grievouſly and often offended by her. For ſo the Counſellors ordered the matter, if the Proteſtants ſhould go about to revenge the death of Coligni, they and the Momorances ſhould in the conflict be oppreſſed by the people, as being inferior in ſtrength, but not without great loſs to the adverſaries; whom the King having drawn a great number of Souldiers, which he had then at his command, into the Louvre, ſitting as a ſpectator, might at

laſt

laſt ſet upon, being broken, and weakened by fighting, and as though they had taken Armſ without his command, and by way of ſedition, might command them all to be ſlain together with the Nobles, as taking this or that party: for whiles they remained ſafe, there would be no end of murmurs and complaints againſt the Queen; whom the ſeditious cry out upon as a ſtranger, and ſo fit to be removed from the Government of the Kingdom.

10. Theſe were their divers counſels according to the diverſity of the perſons, but they all agreed in the executing of the matter. The Duke of Guiſe being at laſt taken into the privity of the fact, though otherwiſe he knew nothing of the other Counſels, *an Aſſaſine* was ſought for, and preſently *Morevell* appears, being as it ſeemed provided for that purpoſe; who having formerly undertaken to do ſuch a villany, he fled into the Camp of the Proteſtants, but being affrighted by the danger of it, leſt he ſhould ſeem to have done nothing, he treacherouſly ſlew Arthurus Valdræus Moius, and from that time often changing his lodgings, he concealed himſelf in the houſe of the Guiſes, in which Family he was brought up from a child. An houſe was alſo pitched upon in the Cloyſter of St. German Auxerrois, as they call it, the houſe of Peter Pila Villemur, who had formerly been Tutor to the Duke of Guiſe himſelf; by which Coligni returning home, muſt needs paſs.

Monſieur de Muy at the ſiege of Niort. Dav. p. 376.

Therefore upon the *Friday*, *Coligni* having diſpatched much buſineſs in the King's Council, where Anjou was preſent, and compoſed a difference between Antonius, Maratinus, Guerchius and Tiangius, chief of the Nobility of the Burgundians, forward men; he attended upon the King to the next Tennis-Court, from whence, after a promiſe from the King, the Duke of Guiſe and Toligny, betaking himſelf homeward, walking on foot by the houſe of Villemur, going gently along, and reading a Petition which was then by chance preſented to him, Morevel diſcharging a Muſquet from a window that had a linen Curtain drawn before it, he was *ſhot with a brace of bullets*, whereof one ſtruck off the fore-finger of his right hand, and the other wounded him more dan-

dangerously in his left-arm, while Guerchius was upon his right-hand, and Rochus, Sorbæus, Prunæus upon his left, who, as likewise all that were there, were exceedingly astonished at what was done.

But he with a countenance not disturbed, only shewed them the house whence the bullets came, and presently commands Armanus, Claromontius, Pilius, and Franciscus Movinius, that they should go the King, and in his name acquaint him with what was done: then binding up his arm, and leaning upon his domesticks, he came on foot to his lodging, which was not far off: and when he was advised by one of his company that he should see to it, whether the bullets wherewith he was wounded were not poisoned, he answered, that nothing should befall him but what was ordered by God.

Forthwith they force the house whence the shot proceeded, and breaking open the dores, found the Musquet in a lower room. A young maid and a page that were found there, were taken and bound; for Morevel at a back-dore getting upon his horse, was already fled to St. Antony's Gate, where changing his horse, and mounting another that was ready for that purpose, he made his escape.

11. *The King receiving the news*, as if he had been astonished at an unexpected accident, "Shall I never, saith he, be at "quiet? and must new troubles alwaies arise from day to day? and then throwing his rocket upon the ground, he withdrew into the inner Castle. Guise leaving the Tennis-Court, departed another way.

Here all were full of wonder, and many were disturbed, being troubled in their minds to think what those things would come to. Many, even of those who bare no great good will to Coligny, detested the fact. But *Navar and Conde presently repair to him*, and when as in their presence he was handled by the Chirurgions, he was heard amidst all his pain to say (only) this. Is this the goodly reconciliation that the King did undertake for? then turning to Moore, Chaplain to the late Queen of Navar, he pronounced these words, "Ah my Brother, now I know I am beloved of God, for

"ſor that I have received theſe wounds for his moſt holy "Names ſake. God grant I may never forget his accuſtomed "mercies towards me. But when Ambroſius Paræus the King's Chirurgeon told him that the Gangreen growing on, his finger muſt be cut off, and did attempt to do it with an inſtrument that had no good edge, though he was forced to open and ſhut the ſhears three times, yet he gave no ſign of ſenſe of his moſt ſharp pain: when he came to his left arm Merlin Conde's Chaplain came in, who when he began to comfort him out of the holy Scriptures, he brake out into theſe words; "My God, forſake me not in theſe troubles, "nor ceaſe from thy accuſtomed mercies towards me. Then he whiſpered in the ear to one who held up his arm, that he ſhould deliver to Merlin an hundred Aurei to be diſtributed to the poor of the Church of Paris: this I have often heard Paræus ſpeak of, almoſt in the ſame words.

Thence *Navar and Conde go to the King*, and complain of the indignity of the fact; and ſince they and theirs could not be ſecure at Paris, they deſire leave to depart. Upon this the King aggravating the matter to the higheſt, and adding deeper oaths than before, promiſed that he would take ſuch revenge upon the Aſſaſine, the authors and abetters of this fact, as ſhould ſatisfy Coligny and his friends, and ſhould be an example to others for the future: that what was done was as great a grief to him as to any, but ſince what was done could not be undone, he would take the greateſt care that might be for a remedy, and would make all men underſtand that Coligny had the wound, but he had the ſmart: and that they might be eye-witneſſes of this thing, he deſires them that they would not depart out of Paris.

And he diſcourſing thus, Queen Katharine, who was then preſent, ſeconded, and ſaith, "The affront was offered to the "King, not to Coligny; and if this villany ſhould not be "puniſhed, it would ere long come to that paſs, that they "would even dare to ſet upon the King himſelf in his houſe: "therefore all means are to be uſed moſt ſharply to revenge "ſo great a villany. Theſe words being ſpoken with much heat, and ſeeming indignation, the minds of Navar and Conde

de were somewhat appeased, who did not believe there was any dissimulation, so that there was not a word more made of their departure out of the City.

Presently *some were sent to pursue the Assasine*, though none as yet knew who he was. All the gates of the City are shut up till search had been made, except two, by which provision was brought in, and even they were kept by a guard appointed by the King. In the mean while the maid and the boy that were taken in Villemur's house, who was then from home, were examined a part by Christopher Thuanus, and Bernardus Prevotius Morsanus, Presidents of the Court, and James Viole a Senator: and the maid confessed that a few daies since Villerius Challius, a servant of the Guises, brought a Souldier to that house, and commended him to her, as if he had been the Master of the house, being a very near friend and familiar acquaintance of his, and that therefore he made use, as long as he was there, of Villemur's Chamber and Bed; but what his name was he did industriously conceal. The boy who had served the Assasine but a few days, said he was sent by his Master, (who dissembled his name, and called himself sometimes Bolland, sometimes Bondol the King's Archer) in the morning to Challius, to desire him from him, that he would have the horses in readiness, which he promised him. From all which discoveries it was yet uncertain who was the Assasine: but when as they both agreed in Challius, it was given in charge to Gaspar Castræus Naucæus, Captain of the King's Guard, that he should seize him, and bring him forth to examination. Then Letters are written to the Governors of the Provinces by the King, in which he detested the fact, and commanded that they should make it their business that all might understand that it did highly grieve him, and that ere long there should be given a most severe example of so great a crime.

In the mean while *d'Anville, Cossæus and Villarius* Marshals, *visiting Coligny* about noon, saluted him in most friendly manner, and *told him* that that they did not come thither to exhort him to patience and fortitude: "For that, say they, "these virtues are as it were natural to thee; thou hast been

wont

"wont to admoniſh others, and therefore wilt not be wanting "to thy ſelf. *He anſwering* with a ſmiling countenance, ſaid, "I ſpeak truly, and from my heart, death doth nothing af- "fright me. I am ready moſt willingly to render to God "that ſpirit which I have received from him, whenſoever he "ſhall require it. But I do greatly deſire an opportunity to "confer with the King before I depart this life; for I have "ſome things to acquaint him with, which concern both "him, and the ſafety and honour of the Kingdom, which I "am well aſſured none of you dares carry to him. Then d'Anville told him he would willingly acquaint the King with that (his deſire), and having ſo ſaid, he with Villarius and Teligny daparted, leaving Coſſæus there, to whom Coligny ſaid, Do you remember what I ſaid to you a few hours ſince? be wiſe, and take heed to your ſelf. What he meant by theſe words was not underſtood by all.

12. But when *the King* knew by d'Anville and Teligny his deſire, he in ſhew ſeemed not unwilling to *come to him* about the afternoon. There came together with him the Queen-Mother, with the Brethren, Anjou and Alanſon, Cardinal Borbon, Monpenſſer, Nevers, Coſſæus and Tavanius, Villarius, Meruvius, Thoreus, Momorancies Brethren, Marſhals, Naucæus and Radeſianus. Theſe being let in, the reſt are by the King's command ſhut out, except Teligny and a Gentleman of the Family, who ſtood at the Chamber-door; here it is publiſhed in writing, that ſome ſecrets were diſcovered to the King by Coligny, but others deny it, and ſay that the diſcovery of this ſecret was purpoſely hindered by the Queen, leſt the King, whoſe nature ſhe began to diſtruſt, being mollified, and perſwaded by the word of Coligny, ſhould change his reſolution. That which was openly heard was this, when Coligny gave the King thanks, the King with a ſad and troubled countenance did earneſtly enquire of his ſtate, and did proteſt, that what had happened to him was a very great grief to him. 'The wound is thine, ſaid he, but 'the pain is mine. But I ſwear (then according to his man- 'ner he ſwore) I will ſo ſeverely revenge this injury, that the 'memory of it ſhall never be blotted out of the minds of

'men. To this Coligny answered, God is my witness, before 'whose tribunal I now seem (ready) to stand, that I have been 'all my life long most loyal and faithful to your Majesty, and 'I always, and with all my hea , desired that your Kingdom 'might be most flourishing and peaceable. And yet I am not 'ignorant that there have been some who have called me 'Traytor, and Rebel, and a pertuther of our Kingdom; but I 'trust, God will some time or other judg between me & them, 'before whom I am ready, if it be his pleasure that I should at 'this time depart out of this life, to give an account of my 'faith and observance towards you. Moreover, whereas I 'have been advanced by Henry your Father to many and 'great honours which your Majesty hath been pleased to con'firm to me; I cannot but according to that faith and love 'that I have for your affairs, desire that you would not let 'slip so notable an opportunity of an happy enterprize, espe'cially now that the breach is already made, and there are ma'ny tokens and pledges of your mind, as to the Belgick Ex'pedition; so as if the matter now begun be relinquished, 'it will be very dangerous to your Kingdom. Is it not a 'most unworthy thing that an egg cannot be moved in your 'Privy Council, but presently almost before it be turned, a 'messenger runneth and reporteth it to the Duke of *Alva*? 'Is it not a most base thing that 300 either Gentlemen or gal'lant soldiers taken in Jenlis his fight, should by the command 'of Alva either be hanged, or undergo some other kind of 'punishment? which thing I do yet perceive to be here in the 'Court a matter of jesting and laughing. A third thing 'which I did desire to discourse with your Majesty about, is 'the contempt of the Pacificatory Edict offered by those that 'are in place of Jurisdiction, who do in most grievous man'ner daily violate the faith that was given by you; of which 'faith and oath even foreign Princes are witnesses. But as I 'have often told your Majesty and the Queen-Mother, I do 'not think there is any surer way of preserving peace and pub'lick tranquility, than by a religious and severe observance of 'the Edicts. But they are so contemned, that of late at 'Troyes there was an assault made upon the servants of the

'wife

'wife of the Prince of Conde: and when as she, according 'to the form of your Edict, had chosen a certain Village cal- 'led Insula, in which our Religion should be exercised, yet 'notwithstanding, of late, a certain man, and a nurse, and an 'infant, that was brought to the holy font, were slain upon 'the way whiles they were returning from a Sermon that was 'made in that place. And this happened a little before the *August* 10*th.* '4th. Eid, 6 til.

To this *the King answered.* 'I esteem thee, my Father, as 'I have often assured thee for a valiant and faithful person, 'and one that is most careful for my honour. Lastly, I look 'upon thee as one of the chiefest and most valiant Comman- 'ders of my Kingdom; nor if I had any other opinion of 'thee, would I have done what I have for thee. As for the 'Edict which I lately issued out, I have always wished, and do 'wish that it may be most diligently observed. And to that 'purpose I have taken care that some choice persons should 'be sent through the Provinces, that may make this their bu- 'siness; whom if thou doest suspect, others shall be sent in 'their places; (for in discourse he had said he did suspect them who had condemned him to death, and hanging, and set a price of fifty thousand Aurei upon his head). Then, that he might break off this discourse, he added, 'I see, my 'Father, that you speak earnestly, and that earnestness may 'hurt both you and your wounds. I will take care of this affair, (and again, swearing by the name of God), 'I do as- 'sure you that I will most severely revenge this injury upon 'the Authors of it, as if it were offered to my self. Then he, there is not need of any great search for the Author of the fact, nor are the discoveries already made very doubtful. But it is enough, and upon that account, in the most humble manner that I can, I give your Majesty thanks that you are plea- sed graciously to promise me to do me right.

Then the King taking aside that Gentleman of the house- hold that stood at the dore, commanded him to shew him the bullet wherewith Coligny was wounded, and which was ta- ken out of the wound, that he might look upon it. It was a brazen one: then he enquired of him, first, whether much

bloud flowed out of the wound; next, whether Coligny did signify the grievous pains he felt by out-cries and complaints. And having commended his constancy, and the greatness of his mind, he commanded that Gentleman that he should not depart from him.

These things passed for about the space of an hour in the Chamber of Coligny: the King drawing out the time with wandring discourses, and that he might put off the business of the Belgick War, to the mention of which, it is observed that he made no answer. Among these discourses Radesianus spoke to a friend of Coligny's concerning the removing him into the Castle of the Louvre for his greater security, if the people should tumultuate; which thing the King himself did sometime repeat, which almost all did interpret as an argument of the King's care of the health of Coligny. But when the Physitians, and chiefly Francis Mazilles the King's chief Physitian, answered there was danger, if his body should be shaken in the carrying whiles his wounds were fresh, he would by no means be removed.

13. After the King departed, *the Nobles of the Protestant party take counsel together*, and John of Ferriers Vidame of Chartres, in the presence of Navar and Conde, conjecturing what was indeed the matter, said that the Tragedy was begun by the wound of Coligny, but would end in the bloud of them all. Therefore he thought it most safe, that without delay they should depart the City: he produced testimonies and tokens for his opinion from the rumors that were spread abroad; for it was heard by many, when upon the day of Marriage the Protestants went out of the Church that they might not engage in worship; the Papists said, by way of mirth, that within a few days they should hear Mass. Also it was openly spoken in discourse by the chief of the City, that at that Marriage should be poured out more bloud than wine. That one of the Protestant Nobles was advised by the president of the Senate, that he should with all his family betake himself for some days into the Country. Besides these things, the counsel of Johannes Monlucius Bishop of Valence (when he was going Ambassador into Poland) given

to

to Roch fou-cault, that he would not ſuffer himſelf to be intoxicated, and turned about by the ſmoke and unwonted favour of the Court, which deſervedly ought to be ſuſpected by all wiſe and cautious perſons, that he would not be too ſecure to run himſelf into danger, and that he would timely withdraw himſelf, together with other Nobles, from the Court. But Teligny being of another mind, and ſaying that he was abundantly ſatisfied of the ſincere love and good will of the King, Ferrerius, and thoſe that thought as he he did, could not be heard.

The next day *the Page* was *again examined*, and new witneſſes produced. In this examination Arnold Cavagnes was engaged, for ſo Coligny did deſire, and all things were done in ſhew, as if there had been a diligent enquiry into the buſineſs.

The next day, when as *Coligny, and* by his command *Cornaton* in the name of his fellows (who, he ſaid, knew for certain that the Pariſians, that is LXCIↃ deadly enemies of Coligny would tumultuate, and take Arms), *deſired* of the King and his Brother Anjou, *a guard* of ſome Souldiers to be ſet *to protect the houſe of Coligny*, that if the people ſhould make any diſturbance, they might be reſtrained by fear of the King's guards, they both of them anſwered kindly and freely, and it was given in command to Coſſenius Colonel of the Regiment of the Guards, that with ſome choice Bands he ſhould keep watch before the dores of Coligny. To theſe were joyned, to avoid ſuſpition, ſome, but few in number, of the Switzers of the guards of Navar. Moreover, for the greater ſecurity, it was ordered by the King, that the Gentlemen of the Proteſtants who were in the City, ſhould lodge near Coligny's houſe, and it was given in command to Quarter-maſters forthwith to aſſign lodgings: and the King gave command with a loud voice, that all might hear it, to one of the Colonels, that no Catholick ſhould be ſuffered to come thither, nor ſhould they ſpare the life of any that ſhould do otherwiſe. Upon this occaſion the Corporals went from place to place, and wrote down the names of Proteſtants, and advi-

adviſed them to repair near to Coligny; for that the King would have it ſo.

Theſe and ſuch like ſigns and whiſperings abroad, though they had been enough to have warned the Proteſtants, if they had not been infatuated; yet by the conſtant diſſimulation of the King it came to paſs, that Coligny and Teligny could not perſwade themſelves that any ſuch cruelty was in his mind. Therefore when *the Nobles entred into conſultation in the Chamber of Cornaton*, in the houſe of Coligny, upon the ſame matter, and the Viſdame of Chartres perſevered in the ſame opinion, that they ſhould depart the City as ſoon as might be, and prevent that imminent danger, though with ſome diſadvantage to Coligny's health, who yet was that day ſomewhat better. Teligny was of opinion, and Navar and Conde agreed with him that they ſhould ſtay in the City, otherwiſe they ſhould offer a great affront to the King, that was ſo well affected towards them.

14. There was a ſuſpition leſt this ſhould be caried to the King by one that was then preſent, that was Buchavanius Bajancurius, one very familiar with the Queen, who preſently haſted to the Tuilleries, where *a Counſel* was *held by the Conſpirators* under a colour of walking; there was *the laſt time* that they conſulted of the manner of executing the deſign. There were preſent beſides, *the King*, *Queen*, and *Anjou*, the Dukes of *Nevers* and *Angoleſme*, the Baſtard, *Biragus*, *Tavannes* and *Radeſianus*. 'And ſince by the death of one man whom the 'Phyſitians did affirm was like to recover of his wound, the 'grievance of the Kingdom, which was nouriſhed by him, 'and diffuſed into many, could not be extinguiſhed, it ſeemed 'good that it ſhould be ſuppreſſed by the ruine of all; and 'that wrath which God would not have to be ſatisfied with 'the bloud of Coligny alone, ſhould be poured out upon all 'the Sectaries. That was their voluntary reſolution at firſt, 'and now by the event, neceſſity and force is put upon their 'counſels, that the danger that hangs over the King and the 'whole Kingdom, cannot be avoided without the ruine of 'Coligny and all the Proteſtants. For what would not he

do

'do so long as the faction of the Rebels remains entire after 'such an injury? who, when he was no way provoked, was 'so long injurious to the King, and hurtful to the Kingdom? 'whom now all might foresee, and dread, going out of Paris 'with his party, as a Lion out of his den, raging against all 'without respect. Therefore the reins are to be let loose to 'the people, who are of themselves ready enough, nor ought 'they any longer to withstand the will of God, which would 'not that more mild Counsels should take effect. After the 'thing is effected, there will not want reasons whereby it may 'be excused, the fault being laid upon the Guisians, which 'they would gladly take upon them.

Therefore all agreed upon the utter ruine of the Protestants by a total slaughter. To which opinion the Queen was even by her own nature and proper design enclined; some time was spent in deliberating * *whether Navar and Conde should be exempt* from the number of the rest; and as for *Navar*, all their suffrages agreed upon the account of his Royal Dignity, and the Affinity that he had lately contracted. For that fact which of it self could not but be blamed by many, would be so much the more blamed, if a great Prince near of Bloud to the King, joyned in a very late affinity, should be slain in the King's Palace, in the arms as it were of the King his Brother-in-law, and in the embraces of his Wife. For there would be no sufficient excuse, nor would those arguments prevail to excuse the King, which might cast the blame upon the Guisians. Concerning *Conde* there was a greater debate, he lying under the load of his Fathers faults: yet both the dignity of the man, and the authority of Ludovicus Gonzaga Duke of Nevers, affirming, that he would be loyal and obedient to the King, and also offering himself as a surety for him, upon the account of that close and manifold relation that was between them; (for Conde had lately married Mary of Cleve the Sister of Henrica Wife of the Duke of Nevers), did prevail that he should be spared, and exempt from the number of those that were designed for the slaughter, as well as Navar.

* *The Duke of Guise was urgent to have the King of Navar and the Prince of Conde slain with the rest. Dav. p. 370. It was also debated whether among the rest they should comprehend the Marshal d'Anville, and his Brothers, who professed the Catholick Religion, but were nearly related to Coligny; but they were spared, because the eldest Brother Marshal Momerancy was absent. Da. p. 370.*

15. Upon this the Duke of *Anjou and Engolesme* the Bastard depar-

departing, as they rode in their Coach through the City, they *ſpread abroad a rumor* as if the King had ſent for Momorancy and was about to bring him into the City with a ſelect number of horſe.

The very ſame hour there was *one apprehended who was ſuſpected of the hurt of Coligny*, who confeſſed himſelf to be a ſervant of the Guiſes; which, when it was underſtood, *Guiſe and Aumale*, and others of the Family went to the King to remove that ſuſpition; and *complain* that they were oppreſſed through the favour that was ſhewed to their enemies: that the ears of Judges were open to calumnies caſt upon them, and that tho they were guiltleſs, yet they were manifeſtly ſet againſt: that they had a long time obſerved that they were, for what cauſe they knew not, every day leſs gracious with the King: but yet that they did diſſemble it, and hoped that time, which is the beſt Maſter of truth, would at laſt inform him more certainly of the whole matter. But ſince they find no place for their innocence, they did, though unwillingly, and as forced to it, *deſire* that with his good leave *they might return home*. This was done openly, and it was obſerved that the King anſwered to theſe things ſomewhat coldly, and the rather, that he might perſwade the Proteſtants that he bare no good will to the Guiſians.

Upon this *the King adviſeth Navar* that he ſhould afford no occaſion of miſchief to the audacity and violentneſs of the Guiſians, things being ſo enflamed, and the people enclining to the Guiſian party. That he ſhould command thoſe whom he knew moſt faithful of his ſervants to come into the Louvre, to be ready upon any ſudden accident; which Navar did, interpreting it in good part, calling thoſe which were moſt active to lodge with him that night in the Louvre Caſtle.

Wiſe men alſo did *preſage ſome future commotions*, when they obſerved *armed men* to run up and down about the City and the Louvre, the people to mutter, *threatnings* to be every where heard. This being brought to *Coligny*, he who no way doubted of the good will of the King, but thought it to be the deviſe of the Guiſians to enflame the people, *ſends one*

to

to the King, who ſhould in his name acquaint him with it. To whom the King anſwered, that Coligny need fear nothing: for thoſe things were done by his command, to compoſe the tumults of the people that were ſtirred up by the Guiſians. Therefore, that his mind might be ſecure,

It was alſo told Teligny the very ſame hour, that *Porters laden with Arms* were ſeen to be brought into the Louvre: but he contemned the meſſage, and anſwered, that unneceſſary ſuſpitions were ſought for in this ſad and diſmal time, and forbad that this ſhould be made known to Coligny, affecting the unſeaſonable reputation of prudence and moderation, from his deſpiſing of reports, and conſequently of dangers: and excuſing the matter, as if thoſe Arms were carried into the Louvre upon the account of a Caſtle repreſented and aſſaulted in a ſhew.

16. Forthwith *Guiſe*, to whom the chief command of the execution of the whole matter was committed, *calling together* in the deep of night *ſome Captains* of the Switzers, and the Captains of the French Troops, *explains to them the Kings will and pleaſure.* 'That the time was come wherein, 'by the King's command, puniſhment ſhould be taken upon 'that head that was ſo hateful both to God and men, and al'ſo upon the whole faction of the Rebels: that the beaſt was 'now in their toils: that they ſhould take care that he eſcape 'not: that they ſhould not be wanting to ſuch an opportune 'occaſion, of obtaining a more glorious triumph than they 'ever yet obtained in all their former Wars, with the bloud 'of ſo many Royalliſts: that the Victory was eaſy: that 'rich ſpoils are propoſed, which they might acquire without 'bloud, as rewards of their good ſervice.

Upon this *the Switzers are placed about the Louvre*, to whom are joyned the French Troops, and command was given that they ſhould look to it, that no man of the Family of Navar or Conde ſhould go out of the Louvre. The keeping of *Coligny's houſe* was *committed to Coſſenius*, to whom was given a party of Muſquetteers to lie in the neighbouring houſes, that none might eſcape them.

Matters being ſo diſpoſed as to the foreign Souldiers, the Duke of *Guiſe calls to him, John Charron*, Preſident of the Court of Revenues, (who, after a long canvaſing, and often repulſes, was at laſt put into that Office in the place of Marcellus Provoſt of the Merchants), and commands him that he ſhould give notice to the Corporals *to command their Souldiers to their Arms*, but that they ſhould remain at the Town-Hall till midnight, there to underſtand what was needful to be done.

The ſame thing was given in *command to Marcellus*, who though he was diſcharged of his office, yet for ſome private good offices that he had done, was retained in the Queens favour, and kept his authority, though he loſt his dignity. He by often going to the Court, brought himſelf into an opinion with men, that he was in favour with the King and Queen; and upon that account was acceptable to the people, and from his mouth the people, that were of themſelves apt enough to ſtirs, were certified, 'That it was the King's plea-'ſure that they ſhould take Arms to cut off Coligny and the 'other Rebels; that therefore they ſhould ſee to it that none 'were ſpared, nor that thoſe wicked men ſhould be any where 'concealed. So the King will have it, ſo he commands, who 'alſo will provide that other Cities of the Kingdom do pre-'ſently follow the example of the Pariſians. *The ſign* at 'which they ſhould riſe, is the tolling of the bell of the Pa-'lace-clock. *The Mark* whereby they ſhould be diſtinguiſhed 'from others, is white linen-cloath bound about their left 'arm, and a white croſs in their hats. That good ſtore of 'them ſhould therefore be ready with arms and good courage, 'and take care that candles be lighted in their windows 'throughout all their houſes: that no ſtir or tumult ariſe be-'fore the ſign given.

The commands and admonitions of Marcellus are readily received by the Corporals, Colonels, Captains and Wardſmen of the City, who put themſelves into a poſture with the greateſt ſilence that the ſudden ſtate of things would permit; ſetting their Guards in the ſtreets and paſſages, but at firſt within dores. On the other part, the Duke of Guiſe and Angoleſme

goleſme did what they could that things might be done as they were ordered.

The Queen fearing leſt the King, whom ſhe thought ſhe did obſerve ſtill wavering and ſtaggering at the horridneſs of the enterprize, *ſhould change his mind, comes into his Bed chamber at midnight*, whither preſently *Anjou*, *Nevers*, *Biragus*, *Tavannes*, *Radeſianus*, and after them *Guiſe* came by agreement. There they immind the King, hefitating, and after a long diſcourſe had to and fro, upbraided by his Mother, that by his delaying he would let ſlip a fair occaſion offered him by God, of ſubduing his enemies. By which ſpeech * *the King* finding himſelf accuſed of Cowardiſe, and being of himſelf of a fierce nature, and accuſtomed to bloud-ſhed, was inflamed, *and gave command to put the thing in execution.* Therefore *the Queen* laying hold of his preſent heat, leſt by delaying it ſhould ſlack, *commands* that the ſign which was to have been given at break of day ſhould be haſtened, and *that the Bell* of the nearer Church of St. German Auxerrois *ſhould be tolled.*

* *He died in leſs than two years after of a Bloudy-flux, proceeding, as was ſuſpected, from poiſon given him by the procurement of his Mother and Brother Anjou.* v. *l.* 57.

17. The Souldiers had for ſome time ſtood ready in their Arms drawn up in the ſtreets, expecting the ſign with greedy ears and deſires: by whoſe clattering and unuſual noiſe at ſo unſeaſonable a time, *the Proteſtants* who lodged by the King's command in the neighbouring lodgings, being *awakened, went forth*, and repaired toward the Louvre, where the concourſe was, and enquiring of thoſe they met what was the meaning of that concourſe of ſo many armed men, and why ſo many candles were lighted, they, as they were inſtructed (beforehand) anſwered, that there was a certain mock-fight preparing, and that many from all parts did flock together to the ſight. But when notwithſtanding they went on further, they are *injuriouſly repelled* by the Guards that ſtood near the Caſtle, then railed upon, and reviled; laſtly, they were beaten; the firſt blow being given by a Gaſcoign, and one of them having received a blow, *the reſt fell upon them.*

Which *the* * *Queen* underſtanding, being impatient of all delay, ſhe thence took occaſion to *tell the King* that the Souldiers could not now be reſtrained, that he ſhould command the ſign from the Palace preſently to be given; for it was to be feared, that if it were delayed any longer, all would be in a confuſion, and things would fall out otherwiſe than he deſired. Therefore by his command *the Bell of St. Germans* Church *is tolled* before break of day ix Kal. VIIbr. which day is the Feaſt of St. Bartholomew, and fell upon a Sunday. And preſently *Guiſe with Engoleſme and* † *Aumale go to Coligny's houſe*, where Coſſerius kept Guard.

Mean time *Coligny* being *awakened*, he underſtood by the noiſe that they were riſen into ſedition, yet being ſecure, and even ſure of the good will of the King, whether through his own credulity, or through the perſwaſion of his Son-in-law Teligny, he thus thought with himſelf; that the people were ſtirred up by the Guiſians, but as ſoon as they ſhould ſee the King's Guards under the command of Coſſenius for the defence of him and his, as he ſuppoſed, they would immediately fall off.

But the tumult growing on, when he perceived a Gun diſcharged in the Court-yard of the houſe, then at laſt, but too late, *conjecturing what the thing indeed was*, he *roſe* from his bed, and putting on his night-gown, he raiſed himſelf upon his feet *to his Prayers*, leaning againſt the wall. La Bonne kept the keys of the houſe, who being commanded by Coſſenius, in the King's Name, to open the Gate, he ſuſpecting nothing, immediately opened it; ſtrait-way * *Coſſenius going in*, la Bonne meeting him, is ſtabbed with daggers; which, when the Switzers who were in the Court-yard ſaw, they fly into the houſe, and ſhutting after them the next gate of the houſe, they barracado it up with Cheſts, and Tables, and other houſhold-ſtuff, one only of the Switzers being ſlain in that firſt conflict by the Coſſenians, by a Muſquet diſcharged. At laſt the Gate being forced open, the Conſpirators ſtrive to get up the ſtairs. They were *Coſſenius*, *Abinius*, *Corboran*, *Cardillac*, & *Sarlabous*, chief officers of the Companies, *Achilles*, *Petrucius* of

* *She lived to procure the extirpation of all her Poſterity, and to ſee the death of all her ſons but* Anjou, *who ſurvived her but few months, being after a furious rebellion againſt him by Guiſe and this faction, murdered by a Fryer. Auguſt 24 th.*

† *He was ſlain in March following, before Rochel. l 55.*

* *He was ſlain 28 Apr. following, before Rochel, l. 56.*

of Siena, all clad in Coats of Male, and *Besmes* a German, educated from a child in the Family of Guise; for Guise himself, with the rest of the Nobles and others, remained in the Court-yard. In that noise, after Prayers ended by Merlin, the Minister *Coligny*, turning to those who stood about him, who were for the most part Chirurgeons, and a few of his retinue. 'I see, saith he, (with an undaunted counte-'nance), what is doing; I am prepared patiently to undergo 'that death which I never feared, and which I have now long 'since embraced in my mind. Happy am I who shall per-'ceive my self to die, and who shall die in God, by whose Grace 'I am raised to the hope of eternal life. Now I need not 'humane helps any longer. You, my friends, get ye hence 'with all the speed that may be, lest you be involved in my 'calamity, and your Wives hereafter wish evil to me being 'dead, as though I were the cause of your deaths. The pre-'sence of God, unto whose goodness I commend this soul 'which shall shortly fly from my body, is abundantly suf-'ficient. Which as soon as he had said, they go into an upper room, and thence through the roof every one his way.

Mean while the Conspirators, breaking open the Chamberdores, rush in; and when as * *Besmes*, with his sword drawn, asked of Coligny who stood by the dore, Art thou Coligny? He, with an undisturbed countenance, answered, I am he: but, young man, reverence my gray hairs; whatsoever thou doest, thou canst not make my life (much) shorter. Whiles he said so, *Besmes thrust his sword into his breast*, and drawing it forth, struck him with a back-blow over the face, whereby he quite disfigured him: then with repeated blows he fell down dead. Some write that these words, shewing his indignation, fell from Coligny as he was dying. If at least I had died by the hand of a man, not of a scullion. But Atinius, one of the Assasines, repeated it so as I have written, and adds, that he never saw man in so present a danger bear death with such constancy.

* *He was killed about two years after, l.* 60.

[*Much otherwise did Guise bear the sense of his less apparent approaching death. For when after his conspiracy and rebellion*

in

in the H. League againſt the next King, he was with ſuch like arts as had been here uſed, brought into the ſnare which the King had laid for him, and having before neglected the warnings of his friends, at laſt began to be ſuſpitious of his danger, though nothing viſible appeared. his vehement fear ſo prevailed over his diſſimulation, whereby he endeavoured to conceal it, that his whole body, though he ſate by the fire, ſhaked and trembled, and, to immind him of this preſent fact, a ſtream of bloud flowing plentifully from his noſtrils; as he called for a napkin, he was fain to call for ſome Cordials to comfort his ſpirits: but yet nothing of danger viſible, when in the midſt of this his fear and languiſhing, he was by one of the Secretaries, who knew nothing of the deſign, called into the Kings Privy Chamber, whereupon, having ſaluted each of the company, as if he took his laſt farewell of them, going directly thither, he was no ſooner entred, but the dore was boulted, and one of thoſe who were appointed for the buſineſs, ſtruck a dagger through his throat downward into his breaſt, whereby his mouth was preſently filled with bloud, and ſtopped, that he could not ſpeak, but only fetch ſo deep a groan as was heard with horror by thoſe who ſtood by. This ſtroke was ſeconded by many others upon his head, breaſt, belly and groyn. And to this end he came, not as Colinius from his Prayers, but, after all his other wickedneſs, from his whore, with whom he had indulged the night, and therefore came later than the reſt this morning into the Counſel. Thu. l. 93. It was their different lives and actions which made this difference in their deaths; for otherwiſe Guiſe was a man of great courage as well as Colinius.]

Then Guiſe asking Beſmes out of the Court-yard, whether the thing were done? when he anſwered, it was done, he could not perſwade Angoleſme unleſs he ſaw it. Therefore Guiſe replying, and bidding him throw down the body, it was thrown out of the window into the Court-yard, as it was all beſmeared with bloud; when * *Angoleſme* not believing his own eyes, wiped off the bloud from his face with his handkerchief, and at laſt perceiving it was he, and as ſome add, kicking the corps in ſcorn, going out of the houſe with his fellows into the way, Go to, fellow Souldiers, ſaith he, let us proſecute what we have ſo happily begun; for ſo the King commandeth:

* *He was afterwards ſtabbed to death. l. 85.*

mandeth: which words being often repeated, when forthwith *the Bell of the Palace clock rang* out; they every where cryed, Arm, arm, and the people preſently ran to Coligny's houſe; then the carkaſs after it had been abuſed in a ſtrange manner, is caſt into the next Stable, and at laſt cutting off his head, (which was ſent as far as Rome), and his privy-members, and his hands, and his feet, they dragged it about the ſtreets to the bank of Siene; which thing he had formerly preſaged by an ominous word, though he thought no ſuch thing. When he was about to be thrown into the River by the boys, from thence he was drawn to the Gibbet of Mount Faucon, where, with his legs upward, and his body downward, he is hanged in iron-chains: then a fire is made under him, by which he is only ſcorched, not conſumed; that he might as it were be tormented through all the Elements, ſlain upon the earth, drowned in the water, burnt in the fire, and hanged in the air. There when (his corps) had been expoſed for ſome days to the luſt and rage of all ſpectators, and to the juſt indignation of many, who did boad that that rage would hereafter coſt the King and all France dearly, Francis Momorancy, who had timely withdrawn himſelf from the danger, being near of kin, and nearer by friendſhip to the dead, took care that he ſhould by ſome truſty men be taken down by night, and committed to the earth in a Chapel at Chantilly.

In Coligny's houſe were ſlain in the tumult whoſoever they met, or found hiding themſelves; and then the Souldiers betake themſelves to plunder, and breaking open Cheſts, they take away mony, and other precious things, only they preſerve letters and papers, for ſo the Queen commanded.

18. Thence *Nevers*, and *Tavannes*, and *Monpenſer*, (who joyned himſelf to them, through the hatred that he bore to Proteſtants) *ride armed through the City, and ſpurred on the people* that ran already, telling them, 'That Coligny and his 'Aſſociates had laid a plot againſt the King, the Queen, the 'King's Brethren, and Navar himſelf, and that it was detected 'by the ſingular Grace of God, and that the King prevented

'them

'them only in time: therefore, that they should not spare the 'bloud of those wicked men, who are the capital enemies of 'the King and Country, but that they should fly upon their 'goods as spoil lawfully gotten; that it was the King's plea-'sure, that that pestiferous serpentine seed should be extirpa-'ted, that the poison of heresy being extinguished, there 'should for the future not so much as a word be spoken of 'any Religion but that of their fore-Fathers.

Then all being let loose to satisfy their hatreds, every one prosecuted his enemy and rival with embittered minds. Many brake into houses through desire of prey; all ran upon the slaughter without distinction. At the same time *Francis Count de la Roche-fou cault*, being for his facetiousness and pleasantness in discourse very gracious with the King, when as but the day before he had, though unseasonably, drawn out the night till late in jesting with the King, and from thence betook himself to his own house, he underwent the same fate with Coligny. For *Bargius Avernus* knocks at Roche-foucault's house, and telling him he had something to acquaint him with from the King; Roche-fou-cault himself commanding the dores to be unlocked, he is admitted in; when he saw men, as he thought, in disguises, supposing the King was not far off, who had sent men in jest to beat him, he beggeth them that they would deal better with him: but miserable man, he found that the thing was not to be acted in jest, but in earnest; when his house being plundered before his eyes, he himself half naked, was most cruelly butchered by one that stood by him.

Also *Teligny* the son-in-law of Coligny having, by running over the tops of houses, escaped the hands of many, and at last being espied by the Guards of Anjou, he is also slain.

Antonius Claromontius Marquess of Revel, Brother, by the Mother, to Prince Porcian, who had a contest with *Ludovicus Claromontius Buffius* of Ambois, concerning the Marquesat of Revel, came to Paris in the company of Navar, hoping there to put an end to his troublesome controversy. But the matter had a quite other end than he expected: for when

in

in that tumult he fled into the houſe that was next to his, at length he fell into the hands of his Couſin-German, purſuing him, who being his enemy upon no other account but the matter in controverſy, cruelly ſlew him. But not long after the controverſy being brought to an hearing, ſentence was given for Buſſius, but with no more happy ſucceſs: for by virtue of an Edict afterwards made in favour of the Proteſtants, the ſentence was repealed, and Ludovicus himſelf was for a far different cauſe, with the ſame cruelty beheaded.

Antonius Marafinus Guerchius a ſtout man, who the day before had asked Coligny that he might lodge in his houſe, when, being in diſtreſs, he had not time to hide himſelf, taking his Cloak upon his arm, and drawing his ſword, he for a long time defended himſelf againſt the Aſſaſines; yet he ſlew none of them, being all in Coats of Male, but at laſt was overpowred by the multitude.

The ſame calamity involved *Baudineus*, (the Brother of Acierius) *Pluvialius*, *Bernius*, being cruelly ſlain by the King's Souldiers: as alſo *Carolus Quellevetus* Pontius, Preſident of Armorica, who had married Katharina Parthenæa, daughter and heir of John Subizius: but the Mother of Parthenæa complaining of the frigidity of her ſon-in-law, a Suit had been commenced to diſſolve the Marriage, but was not yet determined. Therefore, when the bodies of the ſlain were thrown down as they were ſlain before the Palace, and in the ſight of the King and Queen, and all the Court retinue, many Court-Ladies not being affrighted at the horridneſs of ſuch a ſpectacle, did with curious eyes ſhamefully behold the naked bodies, and eſpecially fixing their eyes on Pontius, did examine if they could by any means diſcover the ſigns of his frigidity.

Carolus Bellomanerius Lavardinus, the Kinſman of Pontius, and ſometime Tutor to the King of Navar in his childhood, fell into the hands of Petrus Lupus Preſident of the Court, a good man, who when he would have ſaved him, and was commanded by the Emiſſaries of the Court to diſpatch his priſoner; he, as he was a man of a ready and pleaſant wit, asked ſo much time as till he could raiſe his paſſion, by which

ſpeech he for ſome time eluded their cruelty; but by and by a Meſſenger coming from the Palace as from the King, he was forced to deliver him into the hands of the Guard, who were to carry him before the King; but they in the way firſt ſtabbed Lavardinus with daggers, and then threw him over the Mill bridge into the River.

The ſame fortune, and in the ſame place, ran *Claudius Gaudimelus*, an excellent Muſitian in our Age: who ſet the Pſalms of David, as they were put into verſe in the Mother-tongue by Clemens Marot, and Theodoret Beza, to divers pleaſant tunes, as they are now ſung in the publick and private meetings of the Proteſtants.

Briolius a Gentleman who was Tutor to Marqueſs Conte in his childhood, venerable for his grey-head, being now an old man, was likewiſe ſlain in the embraces of his Pupil, who ſtretched forth his arms, and oppoſed his own body to the blows.

Truly lamentable was the ſpectacle of *Franciſcus Nompar Caumontius*: who had lodged in that neighbourhood, but which fortune, ſporting after her manner, mingled with an event of unexpected joyfulneſs: he with his two ſons, whom he loved with a paternal affection, being taken in bed by the murderers, who proſecuted him with his children, not through an hatred of his Religion, but through hope of gain, was ſlain with one of his ſons: the other being all bloudy with the bloud that flowed upon him, ſaving himſelf from their blows, as he could at that tender age, (for he was hardly twelve years old), by the interpoſition of the dead bodies, diſſembling himſelf dead, he was at laſt left by them for dead: a little after, more ran flocking to the houſe for prey, of whom ſome commended the fact, as well done; (for not only wild beaſts, but their whelps are altogether to be deſtroyed); others that had more humanity, ſaid, this might be lawful to be done upon the Father as guilty, but the innocent off ſpring, which perhaps would never take the ſame courſes, ought to be ſpared. Among thoſe that came toward the evening of that day, when as one did highly deteſt the fact, and ſaid God would be the avenger of ſuch impiety, the boy ſtretching his

limbs,

limbs, and a little lifting up his head, gave ſigns that he was alive: and when he asked him who he was, he anſwered not unadviſedly, that he was the Son and Brother of the ſlain, not telling his name; concerning which, when he was asked again, he anſwered that he would tell his name, if he would lead him where he deſired: and withal, asked him that he would take care to conduct him to the King's Armory, for he was near of kin to Biron Maſter of the Ordnance or Artillery: nor ſhould he loſe his reward for ſo great a benefit: which thing he carefully performed. This *James Nompar*, that is his name, with great gratitude rewarded the man brought to him by the Divine Providence, and afterwards married the Daughter of Biron, and is now chief of a Noble Family in Aquitania, Godfry Caumont his Unckle being dead, and leaving only one Daughter. Being raiſed by the King to great honours, of which he carried himſelf worthy, as Colonel of the King's Life-guard, and Governour of Bearne, he ſeems to be preſerved from that danger by the ſingular Grace of God, that he might by his numerous off ſpring which he had by his Wife, propagate that Family that was reduced to a few, and by his virtue add the higheſt ornament to the honours of his Anceſtors.

The ſame day were ſlain theſe Proteſtants of great note, *Loverius* thrown out of a window into the high-way, *Monsamarius*, *Monalbertus*, *Roboreus*, *Joachinus*, *Vaſſorius*, *Cunerius*, *Rupius*, *Cobombarius*, *Velavaurius*, *Gervaſius*, *Barberius*, *Francurius*, Chancellor to the King of Navar, *Hieronimus Grolotius* Governour of Aurleance, and *Caliſtus* his baſe Brother, who were both inhumanely dragged about the ſtreets, and at laſt caſt into the River, by the inſtigation of thoſe who gaped after his office and goods.

Stephanus Cevalerius Pruneus, the King's Treaſurer in Poictou, a man of great integrity, and one that was very ſolicitous for the good of the Common-weal, who had been the principal mover for the building the Stone-bridge of Vienne, laid at Eraldi-caſtrum, was by certain cut-throats ſent by *Stephanus Fergo Petauderius*, (who ſought after his Treaſurer-ſhip), after the payment of a great ſum of mony, cru-

elly murdered, and thrown into the River, and Patanderius is, by the commendation of Monpenserius, whose affairs he managed, put into his office.

Also *Dionysius Perrotus* the Son of Æmilius, Senator of Paris, (a man not less renowned for his integrity than his knowledge in law), worthy of such a Father, underwent the same fortune.

19. Nor did they spare *those whom Navar* (being advised so to do by the King) *had brought into the Palace:* for they were by the King's command made to come down from their Masters chambers into the Court-yard, and being brought out of the Palace, their swords being taken from them, they were many of them presently slain at the Gate; others were hurried to the slaughter without the Palace. Among these were *Pardallanius*, *Sommartinus*, *Bursius* and *Armannus*, *Charomontius*, *Pilius*, famous for his late valour in defending the Temple of St. John. He, when he was led out to be butchered, standing before the heaps of the slain, is said to cry out, "Is "this the King's faith? Are these his promises? Is this the "peace? But thou, O most great and most good God, behold "the cause of the oppressed, and as a just Judge avenge this "perfidy and cruelty: and putting off his Coat which was very rich, gave it to a certain Gentleman of his acquaintance that stood by; Take this from me as a remembrance of my unworthy death; which gift he not accepting under that condition, whiles Pilius said these things, he was thrust into the side with a spear, of which wound he fell down and died.

Leiranus now grievously wounded, but escaping out of the hands of the murderers, rushing into the Queen of of Navars chamber, and hiding himself under her bed, was preserved; and being carefully commended by Margaret to the King's Physitians, was healed. Bellonarius formerly Tutor to the King of Navar, having a long time lien under the Gout, was slain in his bed.

The King received to his grace *Grammontanus* Lord of Gascoign, *Johannes Durforlius Duralius*, *Joachimus Roaldus Gamarius*, and *Buchavarius*, having promised to be faithful to him: and they were worth their word. Then

Then *the King calls Navar and Conde*, and tells them, that from his youth, for many years, the publick peace had been diſturbed by often renewed wars, to the great damage of his affairs; but now, at laſt, by the grace of God, he had entred into ſuch a courſe as would extirpate all cauſes of future wars. That Coligny, the author of theſe troubles, was ſlain by his command, and that the ſame puniſhment was taken, throughout the City, upon thoſe wicked men who were infected with the poiſon of ſuperſtition: That he remembred what great miſchiefs had befallen him from them, Navar and Conde, who had headed a company of profligate perſons, and ſeditiouſly raiſed war againſt him. That he had juſt reaſon to revenge theſe injuries, and now alſo had an opportunity put into his hand; but that he would pardon what was paſt upon the account of their conſanguinity, and the lately contracted affinity, and laſtly of their age: and that he would think that theſe things were not done by the advice or fault of them, but of Coligny and his followers, who had already, or ſhould ſhortly receive the juſt deſerts of their wickedneſs: that he was willing that thoſe things ſhould be buried in oblivion, provided they would make amends for their former offences, by their future loyalty and obedience; and renouncing their profane ſuperſtitious Doctrine, would return to the Religion of their Anceſtors, that is, to the Roman Catholick Religion: for he would have only that Religion profeſſed in his Kingdom which he had received from his fore-Fathers. Therefore, that they ſhould look to it that they do comply with him herein, otherwiſe they might know that the ſame puniſhment which others had ſuffered, did hang over their heads.

To this the King of *Navar* did moſt humbly beg, that no violence might be offered to their conſciences nor perſons, and that then they would remain faithful to him, and were ready to ſatisfy him in all things. But *Conde* added, that he could not perſwade himſelf that the King, who had engaged himſelf by ſolemn oath to all the Proteſtant Princes of his Kingdom, would upon any account violate it, or hearken to their enemies and adverſaries in that matter. As to Religion, that

that was not to be commanded, that his life and fortunes were in the King's power to do with them what he pleaſed; but that he knew he was to give an account only to God of that Religion that he had received from God. Therefore that he was fixed and reſolved never to recede from his Religion, which he knew aſſuredly was true, no, not for any preſent danger of life. With which anſwer the King being highly provoked, he called Conde ſtubborn, ſeditious, Rebel, and the ſon of a Rebel, and told him, that if he did not change his mind within three days, his head ſhould pay for his obſtinacy.

20. Many of the Proteſtant Nobles had taken up their lodgings in *the Suburbs of St. German*, and could not be perſwaded to lie in the City. Among theſe were *Johannes Roanus Frontenæus*, *Godofridus Caumonlius*, *Vidame of Chartres*, *Gabriel Mongomerius*, *Jo. Laſinius*, *Bellovarius*, *Segurius Pardallanius*, and others. The deſtroying of whom was given in charge to *Laurentius Maugironus*: and beſides Marcells was ordered to take care that 1000 Souldiers of the City Trained-Bands ſhould be ſent thither to Maugironus, who went but ſlowly on in his buſineſs.

While this was doing, tidings came to *Mongomery* of the rumor of taking up Arms in the City, who ſignified the ſame to the *Vidame of Chartres*, and preſently they met all together, uncertain what was to be done; for that many confiding in the King's faithfulneſs, perſwaded themſelves that this was done without the King's command, by the Guiſians, encouraged by the forwardneſs of the ſeditious people, therefore they thought it was beſt to go to the King, and that he would ſuccour them againſt any violence.

In that doubtfulneſs of mind (though the more prudent did not doubt that theſe things were done by agreement, and by the King's command) were many hours ſpent, ſo that they might eaſily have been deſtroyed, but that another impediment happened to the Conſpirators; for whiles Maugironus doth in vain expect Pariſians to be ſent from Guiſe, who were all buſied in plundering, Guiſe impatient of further delays, calls forth the King's Guards out of the Louvre, intending whiles

whiles they passed the River to go thither himself. And when he came to the gates, it did too late appear that they had mistaken the keys, therefore while they sent for others, it being now broad day, the Switzers and others of the King's Guards passing the Scene, were seen from the other side: and upon the discharging of a Gun on the other side of the River, as was thought by the King's command, the Associates take counsel to fly, and before they came, were gotten a good way off. Guise pursued Mongomery and others to Montfort, but in vain, and meeting with *Sanleodegarius*, he commands him that he should follow them with fresh horses. There were some sent to Udencum, and to Dreux, who should intercept them if they went that way: but all in vain.

Franciscus Bricomotius who could not be destroyed in the tumult, flies to the English Ambassadors lodgings, † where he for some days lay hid. *Arnoldus Cavagnius* also hid himself not far from hence, with a friend, who fearing the danger, desired him to provide for himself; but both being taken, were cast into the Palace prison, and with that event which we shall shew anon. † In Bernardinorum caio.

In the mean time Guise, with Aumale and Angolesme, return into the City, where the King's Guards did commit outrages upon the lives and fortunes of the Protestant Nobles and Gentlemen, even of those that were their familiars, and well known to them. This work being assigned to them in particular, whiles the people incited by the Sheriffs wardsmen and tything-men that ran about, did furiously rage with all manner of licentiousness and excess against their fellow-Citizens, and *a sad and horrid face of things* did every where appear. For the streets and ways did resound with the noise of those that flocked to the slaughter and plunder, and the complaints and doleful out-cries of dying men, and those that were nigh to danger were every where heard. The carkasses of the slain were thrown down from the windows, the Courts & chambers of houses were full of dead men, their dead bodies rolled in dirt were dragged through the streets, bloud did flow in such abundance through the chanels of the streets, that full

streams

ſtreams of blood did run down into the River: the number of the ſlain, men, women, even thoſe that were great with child, and children alſo, was innumerable.

Annas Terrerius Chapius, being eighty years old, and an Advocate of great name in the Senate, was ſlain. Alſo *Jo. Lomerius Secretary* to the King, having compounded for his ſafety, was thrown into Gaol by *Johannes Pariſienſis* Judge of Criminals, and having ſold * *his Eſtate at Verſailles* to his adverſary, with whom he had a Suit depending about it, at a low rate, and leaving his office upon the account of another, was afterwards ſlain by the command of thoſe with whom he had thoſe dealings.

* *Verſalium fundum.*

Magdalena Briſſonetta the Relict of Theobaldus Longiolius (an Iriſh-man, Maſter of the Requeſts) Neece of Cardinal Gulielmus Briſſonettus, and beſides, a woman of moſt rare accompliſhments, and of no mean learning, when in old apparel, taking with her her daughter Franciſca, and Johannes Spina a noted Preacher, who was her houſhold Chaplain, ſhe would have fled out of the City, being diſcovered by the cutthroats, and in vain put to renounce her Religion, being thruſt into the body with pike-ſtaves, half dead, ſhe was tumbled from the Key into the River, where ſwimming about, a company of boats being drawn together, as if it had been to deſtroy a mad dog, with many gentle blows, ſhe was at length moſt inhumanely drowned: *Spina* not being known, eſcaped in the throng, and CL. Marcellus coming in, they ſpared her daughter for her ages ſake.

Peter Ramus, who was born at Vermand, when he had for a long time taught good learning, Philoſophy, & at laſt Mathematicks, in Prelæa Schola, of which he was Maſter, and afterward in the King's School, he at laſt brought erroneous doctrine into his Philoſophy, vehemently oppoſing Ariſtotle both by word and writing. When as there were great diſputes between him and *Jacobus Carpentarius, Claromontanus*, as formerly there had been greater with Antonius Goveanus, and Joachinus Periomus; yet herein he was worthy of commendation, that by his wit, diligence, aſſiduity and wealth, he did

did what in him lay to promote Learning, inſtituting a Mathematick Lecture, to which he gave out of his own Eſtate a yearly ſtipend of 300 pounds. He being drawn out of his Cell, wherein he had hid himſelf, by ſome murderers ſent by Carpentar, his Rival, who alſo promoted the ſedition, after he had payed (ſome) mony, receiving ſome wounds, was thrown out of a window into the yard, whereby his bowels guſhed out; which the boys, ſet on by the fury of their enraged Maſters, threw about the ſtreets, and whipping his carkaſs with ſcourges in reproach to his profeſſion, dragged it about in a moſt ſhameful and cruel manner. Which thing, when it came to the hearing of *Dionyſius Lambinus*, Monſtrolienſis, King's profeſſor of humanity, and of both Languages, and who, by many books that he had publiſhed, deſerved well of Learning, and he was otherwiſe no friend to the Proteſtant Doctrine, yet was he ſo affrighted at the example of Ramus, that he could not be comforted, and it made ſo deep an impreſſion upon his mind, that he fell into a moſt grievous diſeaſe, of which about a month after he died.

From their contentions the name of *Politick* took its beginning, which afterwards became a note of faction, being given by the ſeditious, by thoſe that favoured the King's party, and the peace of the Kingdom.

21. This fury did extend it ſelf to *thoſe that never profeſſed the Proteſtant Doctrine.* For *Gulielmus Bertrandus*, *Villemorius* Maſter of Requeſts, (ſon of Jo. Bertrand Vice-Chancellor, and afterwards Cardinal) a good man, and liberal, and one that was injurious to none, was ſpoiled of his mony, and then ſlain by cut-throats ſent by the above-mentioned Fergo.

Alſo *Jacobus Poliardus*, a Senator of Paris, and Fellow of the Sacred Colledge, otherwiſe an unquiet and quarrelſome man, and one that was troubleſome to the Pariſian Captains, when he had for ſome days lien hid in the houſe of a Prieſt, his Friend, being diſcovered by the pratling of a Girl, was at length delivered into the hands of the murderers, and by one *Cruciarius*, (that was his name), a Goldſmith, after he had for ſome time kept him between hope and fear, had his head cut off. I have often beheld and heard that man that very well

deſerved a Gallows, in a ſtrange kind of cruel madneſs boaſt, ſtretching forth his naked arm, that with this arm he had in that maſſacre ſlain above 400 men. Afterward, whether induced to it by repentance,, or the terror of his conſcience, he put on hair-cloath, and being infamous for ſo many murders, that he might avoid the ſight of men, he went into ſolitude, profeſſing the life of an Anchoret: where yet he could not forget his cruel nature: for in theſe late wars he was accuſed, and almoſt convicted, that by the help of ſuch men as himſelf, he had cut the throat of a Flemiſh Merchant, whoſe neceſſity compelled him to repair to his Cell.

† Vici in Mediomatricibus præfectus.

Laſtly *Petrus Salſeda* a Spaniard, † who ſtirred up the Cardinals war, of which we have ſpoken before, though he was no way enclined to the Proteſtant Doctrine, was the ſame day ſlain by thoſe who ſought to revenge a former injury.

[*One* Ronlart *a Catholick, and Canon of Noſtre Dame, and alſo a Counſellor in the Parliament uttering certain ſpeeches in miſliking this lawleſs kind of proceeding without juſtice, was apprehended, and committed to priſon, and murthered as diſorderly as any of the reſt, wherewith divers of the Catholicks themſelves were offended. This manner of proceeding breedeth general miſtruſt in them of the Nobility, and every man feareth God's vengeance.* Walſingham, Let. 16. Sept. 1572. In the Compleat Ambaſſador, p. 246.]

And many of the Nobles *eſcaped* with great danger, and eſpecially *Thoreus*, who warned Coligny when Coſſenius was deſigned to guard him, that he could not be committed to a more deadly enemy; and that now it was true that the ſheep was committed to the woolf. But it was believed that upon the account of the abſence of his Brother Momorancy, he and his Brethren *Damvilla* and *Mernvius* were ſpared. *Coſſæus* his life was alſo in danger, for that he joyned with the Momorancies, and favoured not the Guiſians.

Birons in the Armory fearing upon the ſame account what would become of him, planting two Culverins againſt the City, fortified himſelf till the fury of the people and the guards ceaſed.

Among

Among the Proteſtants that were of any note, there eſcaped by a rare kindneſs of fortune, *Joh. Saucomolius*, *Sauromarius Cugius*, *Bricomolius Junior*, and ſome few others, *Jacobus Cruſſolius Acierius*, by the commendation of his Brother Antony † Duke of Uzes, and command of the Queen, with ſome others of the Nobility, were preſerved by the Guiſians to this intent, as it was reported; that they might caſt the odium of the Maſſacre upon the King and the fury of the people; as though they had no other deſign than to revenge their private injuries upon the head of Coligny, and alſo that they might by ſuch a benefit hold thoſe whom they preſerved ever obliged to them. Nor did their expectations fail them. † Uticenſium ducis.

Gulielmus Altamarus Fervacius did endeavour to procure the ſame favour from the King for *Franciſcus Moninius*, but all in vain; but he being diſcovered by his means, ſtrait-way it was given in command to Marcellus to cut him off by the cut-throats. *That day* were *ſlain* to the number of *two thouſand.*

Toward the evening *Proclamation* was *made* to the multitude by ſound of Trumpet, that every one ſhould betake himſelf to his own home, nor might any ſtir abroad; that only the King's Guards, and the Officers with their Troops of Horſe, ſhould go about the City upon pain of death to them that did not obey: ſo that when it was thought that there was an end put to thoſe ſlaughters and rapines, the ſame maſſacre and liberty of plundering was continued the night following, and the days following.

22. The ſame day *the King*, whether troubled at the horridneſs, or fearing the odium of the fact, *by Letters* directed to the Governors of the Provinces, *caſteth the odium upon the Guiſians*, telling them 'That the ſedition was raiſed without 'his privity or conſent: that they, as ſoon as they perceived 'that the friends and kindred of Coligny, whom he ſtill cal-'led couſin, did intend to revenge the wound given him, that 'they might be before-hand with them, ſtirred up ſo great a 'party of the Nobles and Pariſians, that they, by their help, 'cut off the Guards that he had aſſigned to Coligny, and as 'many of his friends as they met: and this example was fol-

'lowed with ſuch fury and violence throughout the City, 'that ſuch a remedy as might be wiſhed, could not be applied 'in any due time. Now at laſt the ſedition that ſeemed to 'be allayed, was again upon old grudges between the two 'Families, revived; which thing, ſince it hapned contrary to 'his will, he would that all ſhould underſtand that the Edict 'lately publiſhed, was not thereby in any part violated: but 'he did command that it ſhould be religiouſly obſerved, and 'that the Governors ſhould ſee to it, that mutual ſlaughters 'ſhou'd not be committed in other Cities, nor that they 'ſhould take Arms one againſt another, but that every one 'ſhould keep home in the City and Countrey, and abſtain 'from violence upon pain of death to thoſe that did not obey: In the end of the Letter theſe words were added; 'Here I am 'with my Brother of Navar, and my Couſin Conde, ready to 'undergo the ſame fortune with them. The ſame day were *Letters of the ſame contents written by the Queen*, ſent not only through the Kingdom, but to the Dyet or Aſſembly of Switzers, and diſperſed by the King's command through England, and divers places in Germany.

23. The next day ſlaughters and rapines were continued. *Petrus Platius* Preſident of the Court of Cuſtoms, a man eminent for his gravity, learning and integrity, (whom one Michael by name, Captain of a Band, had the day before cheated of a great ſum of Gold) by the help of ſlingers ſent to him by Nic. Bellofremontius Seneſcæus, and Carronius Provoſt of the Merchants, defended himſelf from the fury of the people. That *Seneſcæus* was lately by the King put into the place of Innocentius Triperius Monſtrolius, great Provoſt del' Heſpital: under whom that Office, whoſe juriſdiction belonged only to ſome mean perſon of the King's Retinue, after that began to be conferred upon Gentlemen, as all thoſe things which belong to the Maſter and Colonels of the Horſe. He firſt obtained the name of great Provoſt, thoſe being much offended at it, who, by how much was added to him in titles did complain that by ſo much their juriſdiction was diminiſhed. That ſo large juriſdiction for ſome time after the death of Monſtrolius had ceaſed, which at laſt the King con-

conferred upon Seneſcæus, for the Nobleneſs of his Family, and ſuch learning as with us is rare in a military perſon. Therefore Seneſcæus coming this day from the King to Placius, told him that though the King reſolved utterly to root out the Proteſtants by ſlaying them, that there ſhould not remain one that piſſeth againſt the wall, yet that for many reaſons he would give him his life, and ſent him to conduct him to the Louvre, for that he did deſire to learn from him many things concerning the affairs of the Proteſtants, which it behoved him to know. Then Placius deſired to excuſe himſelf, and deſired that he might ſtay till the fury of the people were ſomewhat allayed; that in the mean time he might be kept priſoner whereſoever it pleaſed the King. On the other ſide Seneſcæus, who had received ſuch command from the Queen, did haſten him, that he ſhould without delay obey the King's command, and aſſigned him Pezovius, one of the privy leaders of the Sedition, for his greater ſecurity as he ſaid: by whom he was delivered into the hands of thoſe that lay in wait, and being thrown off his Mule upon which he rode, he was ſtabbed with daggers: his body was dragged, and thrown into the ſtable of a publick houſe; and his houſe lay three days open to ranſacking, his wife being fled, and his children wandring hither and thither. His office, which in his abſence, in the time of war was managed by *Stephanus Nuellius*, a factious and bloud-thirſty man, and who was believed to have hired theſe cut-throats againſt the life of Placius, was by him obtained of the King.

24. Such cruelty raging every where, while the Heavens ſeemed more than ordinarily ſerene, an accident hapned whereby the minds of the enraged people were after a ſtrange manner inflamed. An Oxyacantha, which is a kind of ſhrub which they call *white-thorn*, growing in the Church-yard of St. Innocents, did, whether of its own accord, which ſometimes happens, when nature failing, that plant is come to that, that it is about to dry up; or whether by warm water poured upon it by impoſtors, did in an unuſual time *put forth its flower*. All which, the factions flattering themſelves in their madneſs, did refer to God, ſignifying by theſe tokens, that

that what they had done was acceptable to him. And therefore they ſaid, that the Heavens did rejoyce to ſee the Maſſacre of the Proteſtants. And James Carpenter alluding to the Month, in a writing that he publiſhed, called that light *Auguſta*. Therefore the ſeditious flocking together at the fame of the bloſſoming thorn, did skip about with great joy: which they alſo teſtified by the unuſual beating of a Drum, though without command, (for even that they might do then) and ſo interpreted it, as if the Proteſtants being rooted out, the Catholick Religion, and the Kingdom of France ſhould recover its ancient ſplendor and flower. But the Proteſtants argued otherwiſe; and if this were to be looked upon as a Miracle, they ſaid this was portended by this ſign; that though the Church might ſeem by this wound to be utterly extinct, yet it ſhould come to paſs that it ſhould in a wonderful and incomprehenſible manner revive and flouriſh; which alſo they did confirm by the example of the wonder ſhewed to Moſes in the buſh, which, though it burned, yet was it not conſumed. They added, that it might be ſaid rather to belong to the commendation of innocence, than the approbation of butchery, becauſe the thorn bloſſomed in a place which took its name from Innocents.

The ſame day ſome drawn out of the King's Life-Guard by Gaſpar Caſtreus Nancæus, are by the King's command ſent to † Chaſtillon, to take and bring *Coligny's wife and children*, as alſo the ſons of Andoletus. But Franciſcus the Eldeſt Son of Coligny, and Vidus Lavallus the Eldeſt Son of Andoletus, had already ſaved themſelves by flight. All the reſt are taken, and brought with all their precious houſhold-ſtuff to Paris.

† Caſtillionem ad Lupam.

25. It was *the King's deſign*, that as ſoon as the ſlaughter of Coligny and his followers had been performed, the Guiſes ſhould immediately depart the City, and go every one to his own houſe, that thereby all might take notice, that whatſoever had been done at Paris proceeded from their faction. But the Queen and Anjou eſpecially (who did both of them with an over-weaning affection incline to the party of Guiſe) did intercede: (ſeeing) the King was at firſt enraged only againſt

against Coligny, as not yet forgetting his flight from Meaux, drew him on, who yet wavered, to the slaughter of all the Protestants in the City; so that not knowing where he set his foot, they brought him by degrees to this pass, that he should take the whole blame upon himself, and so ease the Guisians, who were not able to bear such a burden. And to that end Anjou did, as it it was laid, produce Letters found in Teligny's desk, written by the hand of Momorancy, in which, after the wound given to Coligny, he did affirm that he would revenge this injury upon the Authors of it, who were not unknown with the same mind as if it had been offered to himself.

Thereupon the Queen and Anjou took occasion to shew the King, 'That if he persisted in his former dissimulation, 'things were come to that pass, that he would endanger the 'security of the Kingdom, his Fortunes, Riches, and Repu-'tation. For the Guisians, who do by these Letters, and 'otherwise, understand the mind of the Momorancies, being 'men desirous of troubles, and seeking grounds of them up-'on every occasion, will never lay down their Arms which 'they have by the King's command taken up, to offer this in-'jury: that they will still keep them under pretence of de-'fending their safety, which they say is aimed at by the enemy; 'and so that which was thought to have been the end of a 'most bloudy war, will prove to be the beginning of a more 'dangerous one. For the remainders of the Protestants, 'who see their matters distressed, will, without doubt, ga-'ther themselves to the Momorancies, who are of themselves 'strong, and thence will take new strength and spirits: which 'if it should happen, what a face of the Kingdom will ap-'pear, when the name and authority of the King's Majesty 'being slighted and trampled upon, every one shall take liberty 'to himself, and indulge to private hatred and affections accor-'ding to his own lust? Lastly, what will foreign Princes think 'of the King, who suffers himself to be over-ruled by his 'subjects, who cannot keep his subjects in their duty, and 'lastly, who knows not how to hold the reins of legal power?

'There-

'Therefore there is no other way to prevent ſo great an evil, 'but for the King to approve by his publick Proclamation, of 'what was done, as if it had been done by his command. 'For by this means he ſhould take the arbitrement and power 'to himſelf; and on the one hand diſarm the Guiſes, and on 'the other hand keep the Momorancies from taking up Arms; 'and laſtly ſhould bring it about, that the Proteſtant affairs 'now already very low, ſhould be ſeparated from the cauſe of 'the Momorancies. That the King ought not to fear the 'odium of the thing: for there is not ſo much danger in the 'horridneſs of a fact, (the odium whereof may be ſomewhat 'allayed by excuſe), as in the confeſſion of weakneſs and im-'potency, which doth neceſſarily bring along with it con-'tempt, which is almoſt deſtructive to Princes.

By theſe reaſons they eaſily perſwaded an imperious Prince, who leſs feared hatred than contempt, that he might recall the Guiſians to obedience, and retain the Momorancies in their loyalty, to confirm by publick teſtimony, that whatſoever had been done, was done by his will and command. Therefore in the morning, viz. upon the Tueſday, he *came into the Senate* with his Brethren, the King of Navar, and a great retinue of Nobles, after they had heard Maſs with great ſolemnity, and ſitting down in the Chair of State, all the orders of the Court being called together, 'He complained of the grievous 'injuries that he had from a child received from Gaſpar Co-'ligny, and wicked men falſly pretending the name of Re-'ligion: but that he had forgiven them by Edicts made for 'the publick Peace. That Coligny, that he might leave no-'thing to be added to his wickedneſs, had entred into a con-'ſpiracy how to take away him, his mother, his brethren, and 'the King of Navar himſelf, though of his own Religion, 'that he might make young Conde King, whom he deter-'mined afterwards to ſlay likewiſe, that the Royal Family 'being extinct, he uſurping the Kingdom, might make him-'ſelf King. That he, when it could not otherwiſe be, did, 'though full ſore againſt his will, extinguiſh one miſchief by 'another, and as in extream dangers, did uſe extream reme-'dies,

'dies, that he might extirpate that impure contagion out of 'the bowels of the Kingdom. Therefore, that all ſhould 'take notice, that whatſoever had been that day done by way 'of puniſhment upon thoſe perſons, had been done by his 'ſpecial command.

After he had ſaid theſe things, *Chriſtophorus Thuanus*, chief Preſident, in a ſpeech fitted to the time, commended the King's prudence, who, by diſſembling ſo many injuries, had timely prevented the wicked conſpiracy, and the danger that was threatned by it, and that that being ſuppreſſed, he had now ſetled peace in the Kingdom, having well learnt that ſaying of Lewis XI. He that knows not how to diſſemble, knows not how to reign.

Then the Court was commanded that diligent enquiry ſhould be made concerning the conſpiracy of Coligny and his Aſſociates, and that they ſhould give ſentence according to form of Law, as the heinouſneſs of the fact did require. Then laſtly *Vidus Faber Pibraccius*, Advocate of the Treaſury (or Attorney-General) ſtood up, and asked the King whether he did will and command that this declaration ſhould be entred into the acts of the Court, to the preſervation of the memory of it? whether the orders of Judges and Civil Magiſtrates, which he had complained were corrupted, ſhould be reformed? And laſtly, whether by his command there ſhould be an end put to the ſlaughters and rapines? To theſe things the King anſwered, that he did command the firſt; that he would take care about the ſecond, and that for the third he did give command by publick proclamation through all the ſtreets of the City, that they ſhould for the future abſtain from all ſlaughters and rapines. Which declaration of the King aſtoniſhed many, and among the reſt *Thuanus* himſelf, who was a man of a merciful nature, and altogether averſe from bloud, and feared that example, and the danger that was threatned thereby: who alſo did with great freedom privately reprove the King, for that, if the conſpiracy of Coligny and his company had been true, he did not rather proceed againſt them by Law. This is moſt certain, he did al-

ways deteſt St. Bartholomews-day, uſing thoſe verſes of Statius Papinius in a different caſe,

Excidat illa dies ævo, nec poſtera credant
Sæcula, nos certe taceamus, & obruta multa
Nocte, tegi propriæ patiamur crimina Gentis.

So that he ſeems to have commended the King's art by a ſpeech fitted to the preſent time and place, rather than from his heart.

The adviſing of the King to enquire into this conſpiracy, is thought to have been from *James Morvillerius* Biſhop of Orleans, who had left his Biſhoprick to give himſelf wholly to the Court: a man of a cautious nature, but moderate and juſt, and who was never the author of that bloudy counſel. But when as that which was done could not be undone, he thought it was beſt for the reputation of the King, and for the publick Peace, that ſince the odium of it could not be wholly aboliſhed, yet that it might by ſome means be mitigated, he perſwaded the King and Queen, that to the things being now done, they ſhould, though in a preposterous manner, apply the authority of Law; and that proof being made of the conſpiracy, judgment ſhould be paſſed upon the conſpirators in form of Law; which thing Thuanus himſelf approved, being conſulted about it by Morvillerius upon the King's command.

Two days after *a Jubilee* is appointed, and Prayers are made by the King, and a full Court in a great aſſembly of people, and thanks were returned to God, for that things had ſucceeded ſo happily, and according to their deſires. And the ſame day *an Edict* was *publiſhed*, wherein the King declared, that 'Whatſoever had happened in this matter was done by 'his expreſs command; not through hatred of (their) Reli-'gion, or that it ſhould derogate from the Edicts of Pacifi-'cation, which he would have to ſtand ſtill in force, and to 'be religiouſly obſerved, but that he might prevent the wicked 'conſpiracy of Coligny and his confederates. Therefore, that

'that he did will and command that all Proteſtants ſhould 'live at home quietly and ſecurely under his protection and 'patronage, and did command all his Governors to take di-'ligent care that no violence or injury ſhould be offered to 'them, either in their lives, goods or fortunes; adding a ſan-ction, that whoſoever did otherwiſe, ſhould underſtand that he did it under pain of life. To theſe things a clauſe was finally added, which the Proteſtants did interpret to contradict what he had ſaid before; that, 'Whereas upon the ac-'count of their meetings, and publick Aſſemblies, great trou-'bles and grievous offences had been ſtirred up, they ſhould 'for the future abſtain from ſuch meetings, whether publick 'or private, upon what pretence ſoever, till further order was 'taken by the King, upon pain of life and fortunes to thoſe 'that diſobeyed.

26. Theſe Edicts and Mandates were diverſly entertained *in the Provinces*, according to the divers natures and factions of the Governors; for thoſe that were addicted to the party of the Momorancies, made a moderate uſe of them, but great was the rage and fury of others to whom ſecret commands were brought, not in writing, but by Emiſſaries, following the example of the Pariſian Maſſacre.

The beginning was *at Meaux*, as being neareſt, where the ſame day that the Maſſacre had been at Paris, above two hundred were thrown into priſon by *Coſſetus* Advocate of the Treaſury, an impudent man, who was chiefly aſſiſted by *Dionyſius Rollandus* an Apparitor, and *Columbus* a Mariner. The next day they ſet upon the Market that is out of the City, and the men being ſlipt away, they fell upon the women, whereof 25 were ſlain, and ſome of them violated by the rude murderers. The day following, after they had every where rifled the houſes of the ſuſpected, they come to thoſe that were impriſoned, who being called out one by one by Coſſetus himſelf, were there ſlain as Oxen, by Butchers, in a Slaughter-houſe, and thrown into the Caſtle-ditch, and the greateſt part of them (the cut-throats being wearied) were drowned in the River Marne. And then Coſſetus exhorts the neighbouring places that they ſhould proceed in what had been ſo happily

pily begun. But the preſence of Momorancy Preſident of l'Iſle la France, who was then at Cantilia, not far from thence, did hinder the ſeditious from ſtirring at Senlis.

But great was the rage at *Orleans*, which being once or twice taken by the Proteſtants, the ſad ruines of the demoliſhed Churches lying open to the eyes of all, did enkindle the minds of the people to revenge their injuries, being yet freſh: the day following therefore they began upon *Campellus Bovillus*, one of the King's Counſellors, whom being ignorant of what had happened at Paris, Curtius a Weaver, the leader of the ſeditious, with ſome of his party, went as it were to viſit in the evening; he thinking that they came as friends to ſup with him, entertained them as at a feaſt; which (entertainment) the murderers having received, they acquaint him with what was done at Paris, and withal demand his Purſe, which being delivered, they in the midſt of their entertainment ſlay their *Hoſt*. From thence, as if this had been the ſign given, they flock together for three days to murder and ſpoil; above 1000 men, women and children, as it was thought, were ſlain; part were caſt into the river Loire: thoſe that were ſlain without the City were thrown into the ditch. Great was the plunder that was taken in all that time, and eſpecially the copious Library of *Peter Montaureus* (a learned man, who died four years ſince of grief of mind, at Sancerra) furniſhed with Books of all ſorts, eſpecially with mathematical Manuſcripts, the greateſt part of them Greek, and corrected and illuſtrated by the labours of Montaureus himſelf, as alſo with inſtruments uſeful in that Science, contrived with admirable artifice, was with a moſt barbarous outrage taken away.

Alſo ſome were ſlain at *Gergolium*, the people raging through the neighbouring Cities, Towns and Villages, after the manner of the Inhabitants of Orleance.

The ſame was done at *Angiers*, they beginning with *Johannes Maſſonius Riverius*, who was moſt barbarouſly ſlain as he walked in his Garden, by a cut-throat let in by his Wife, who ſuſpected no ſuch thing: as alſo others. *Barbeus* Enſign of the Prince of Conde's Regiment e[illegible]ed the danger by flight,

as

as alſo Renatus Roboreus Breſſaldus, one that was very troubleſome to Prieſts, many of whom he had unworthily maimed, was afterwards executed.

The Townſmen of *Troyes*, of whom Coligny had a little before complained to the King, when they heard of the tumult at Paris, preſently ſet guards at the City-gates, that none might ſlip forth: and having upon 3 Kal. VIIbris, caſt all the ſuſpected into priſon five days after, by the command *Annæ Valdræus Simphalius*, Governor of Troyes, upon the inſtigation of *Petrus Bellinus* (who, as was believed, came lately from Paris with private commands) they were brought out one by one, and ſlaughtered by the cut-throats, and buried in a ditch digged in the very priſon: and preſently after, the King's Proclamation, wherein they were commanded to leave of killing and ſpoiling, was publiſhed by Simphalius, who, as it is ſaid, received it before the ſlaughter was committed. Auguſt 30th.

At *Vierzon*, when as at the yet uncertain report of the news, the Gates of the City were ſhut up by the diverſity of Letters that were ſent in the King's Name, the Townſmen held their hands for ſome time from violence, contenting themſelves to have caſt the ſuſpected into priſon, till at laſt ſtirred up by the example of the men of Orleance, they raged with the ſame madneſs againſt the impriſoned. *Franciſcus Hottomannus*, and *Hugo Donellus*, who profeſſed Civil Law in that City, by the help of their Scholars, and eſpecially of the Germans, eſcaped the preſent danger.

Two days after the uproar at Paris, the Regiment of Horſe that belonged to Ludovicus Gonzaga, under pretence of muſter, and receiving their pay, ſeized on *la Charite*, a Town lying upon the River Loire, below Nevers, and the people being ſtirred up by Letters from Paris, 18 were ſlain in the Town; *Petrus Mebelinus*, and *Johannes Lerius*, well known by his voyage into America, did beyond their hopes eſcape the hands of the murderers, and fled to Sancerra.

27. The greateſt Maſſacre of all was at *Lions*, for in that City, as it is very populous, the Gates being preſently ſhut, many are taken and caſt into priſon, by the command of *Franciſcus*

ciſcus *Mandelotus*, Governor of the Town, under pretence, as he ſaid, that the King's Guards might protect them from the rage of the people: but many while they are lead by the ſeditious, as if it had been to priſon, are ſlain in the blind lanes of the Town, and preſently caſt into the Rivers la Saone and Rhone. The ring-leader and chief promoter of this was one *Boidonus*, a wicked debauched fellow, who afterward came to his deſerved end, being executed at Claremont in Auvergne. Three days were ſpent in rifling houſes, and finding out thoſe that were ſuſpected: which being done on Friday 4 Kalends of VII br. *Duperscus* (a Citizen of Lions, but lately advanced to the order of Knighthood: the honour of this order for many years being decayed, ſince it began to be beſtowed upon unworthy perſons) came from the Queen with Inſtructions and letters of credence, bringing alſo letters from Claudius Rubius, and other City Officers, men of like manners, who managed the affairs of Lions at Paris, and in the Court; in which (letters) is declared what was done at Paris, and withal it was added, that the King did will and require that the men of Lions ſhould follow the example of the Pariſians. Mandelotus, a prudent man, though he was looked upon as enclined to the Guiſian faction, abhorred the barbarouſneſs of the thing, and obtaining of the urgent multitude ſome days truce, till he had deliberated upon the matter, and till letters came from the King, which he ſaid he daily expected; in the mean time he made open Proclamation, that the Proteſtants ſhould repair to the Major's houſe to hear from him what was the King's pleaſure. They poor wretches coming out of their hiding places, as if they had been received into the King's protection, came to him, and by his command were committed to ſeveral priſons; for the King's priſons upon the River Rhone were not able to receive ſuch a multitude. Upon this, *Petrus Antiſſiodorenſis* Chamberlain of the City, a man wicked and infamous for diſhoneſt luſts, rode poſt, and without letters, as if the dignity of the man had carried authority enough with him, affirms to Mandelotus, that this was the Kings and Queens will and pleaſure, that the Proteſtants that were taken, or could be taken, ſhould be ſlain

Auguſt 29th. Conchiliatorum equitum torque donatus.

Rodanenſes Regii.

ſlain, without expecting any further command. Therefore Mandelotus being overcome by the importunity of the multitude that ſtood round about him, to whom Antiſſiodorenſis had told the ſecret, yieldeth, and turning to the meſſenger of ſo horrid a ſentence, I will, ſaith he, ſay to thee Peter, what Chriſt heretofore ſaid to Peter; whatſoever thou bindeſt, let it be bound; and whatſoever thou looſeſt, let it be looſed; and preſently all ran to the ſlaughter and ſpoil, *Morniellus* and *Clavius*, wicked men, and ready for any miſchief, joyned themſelves to Boidomus. When they would have had the help of *the Common Hangman* in that matter, he refuſed, and ſaid that he was ready to obey the ſentence of a lawful Magiſtrate, but he would not meddle nor trouble himſelf with ſuch promiſcuous executions: when the ſame thing was commanded, *the guards* of the Caſtle, they likewiſe being much moved at the motion, anſwered with diſdain, that they were no Hangmen, nor did ſuch diſhonourable employment become Souldiers: thoſe miſerable men never injured them: therefore they hired men from the Shambles, and ſhameleſs perſons out of the dregs of the people; [but neither would they do it;] at length all theſe deteſting the fact, they came to the City Train-Bands, which conſiſted of 300 Townſmen, who did readily undertake againſt their own fellow-Citizens, what hangmen and ſtrangers had reſolutely refuſed. Out of theſe Bands therefore are choſen all the veriеſt rake-hells, and they leading on, they ran violently to the houſe of the Franciſcans, (this was done upon the following Lord's-day) where part of the Proteſtants were kept, and then to the houſe of the Celeſtines, where a great ſlaughter was made: whiles Mandelotus, with *Sollucius Manta* Governor of the Caſtle, ran with all ſpeed to the tumult raiſed by the people in the ſuburbs next the River Rhone, they make an aſſault upon the Arch-Biſhop's houſe, where 300 chief Proteſtants were, by the Governor's order kept in priſon: and firſt carefully examining their purſes, they moſt barbarouſly ſlew them, praying unto God, and imploring the faith of men. A miſerable ſad ſight! while the Sons hanging about the necks of their Fathers, and Fathers embracing their Sons, Brethren, Friends, exhorting one

Supplices & Dei hominumq; fidem implorantes.

one another to conſtancy, they were ſlain like ſheep by merciles Butchers, Porters, Water-men, among the ſad lamentations and horrid cries that did reſound all over the City. Which thing Mandelotus in all haſte returning from Guilloteria, but yet after the thing was done, ſeemed to be much troubled at, as if it had been done without his conſent or privity; and coming to the place of the Maſſacre, taking the King's Officer along with him, that he might enquire into the matter in a legal way, and proofs being taken by a publick Notary, in a ridiculous diſſimulation, he commanded Proclamation to be made, that thoſe that knew who were the Authors of this outrage, ſhould tell their names, an hundred Crowns being propoſed to the informer and diſcoverer for his reward. In the evening the ſame Butchers went to the publick priſon, upon Rhone, and raged againſt the priſoners with a new ſort of cruelty; and miſerably tormented them with halters put about their necks, and dragged them half dead into the River that was near. The night following is ſpent in ſlaughters and plundering; houſhold-ſtuff is carried out of houſes, and wares out of ſhops: thoſe that hid themſelves are by ſpies brought out of their hiding places, and many thrown into the River. Mandelotus being offended at the horror of the ſight of the bodies of the ſlain lying in the Court of the Arch-Biſhop's houſe, commanded them to be put into boats, and carried to the other ſide of the River, that they might be buried in the Church-yard of the Monaſtery of Aiſnay, where was formerly the Altar of Lions, and ſent men thither to ſee them buried. But the Monks ſaid they would never ſuffer that, and that thoſe carkaſſes were unworthy of burial. Therefore, upon a ſign given, there is a concourſe made, and they are thrown by the enraged people into the River; the groſſer bodies being given to the Apothecaries, upon their deſire, for their fat, as is reported by thoſe who wrote whiles things were freſh. Nor did the ſlaughter ſtay here. For not long after the (two) Brothers, *Darutii*, Merchants of great account, *Labeſſeus*, *Galternus*, and *Floccardus*, honourable Citizens, being brought out of the priſon, had their throats cut, and were caſt into the River Rhone.

Among

Among these slaughters some *escaped* by the help of the guards, and the favour of Manta the Governor, among whom were *Jo. Riealdus*, and *Antonius Callia*, Pastors of the City, when as *Joannes Anglus*, chief Pastor, was slain in the first tumult. It is said that 800 of all kinds and sexes were barbarously slain: the carkasses of the slain swimming down Rhone to Turnonium, lay so thick about the banks, that the Townsmen affrighted at the accident, cried Arm, Arm, as if the enemy had been coming upon them: by and by being amazed with horror, and detesting the authors of such a villany, though they had no favour for the Religion of the Protestants, to remove that sad spectacle, they set men to thrust the bodies off with poles from the banks, which the swift stream brought down. So horrid a spectacle they also detested at Vienne, at Valence, at Burgh, at Viviers, at the Temple of the Spirit, yea, at Avenion, where there is great hatred of the Protestants. But at Arles, when through want of wells and springs they drink of the water of the River; the Townsmen, besides the detestableness of the villany, were grievously distressed; when as they would not use the fishes and water that they could be supplied with only from Rhone; yet they abhorred the very sight of the River.

28. But in Dauphine and *Provence* things were carried after far another manner. For *Claudius Sabaudus Count of Tende*, who was very nearly allied to the Momorancies, when Letters were brought him about the same business by *Josephus Bonifacius Mola*, who two years after came to an † unhappy end at Paris, ingenuously answered that he did not think that that was the King's pleasure, but that some that were evilly affected to the publick Peace, did falsly pretend his name, when as not many days since he had received quite other commands: that therefore he would rather obey the former, as more worthy of the King's Faith and Clemency. But he not long after being at Avignon, died of a sudden disease, to the great grief of the people of Provence, not without suspition given him by the Emissaries of the seditious.

† *Being executed, and his quarters set upon the City-gates.*

In *Dauphine*, *Bertrandus Simienus Gordius*, educated in the Family of the Momorancies, receiving the same command,

he excused himself, pretending the great danger he was like to be in from the powerfulness of Mombranius, and other Protestants in * Savoy and Dauphine, yet some were slain at *Valence*.

* In allobrogibus.

Also at *Romans* there were some slain, though it were late first, viz. 10 Kal. VIIIbr. where, when many of that great number that was cast into the prison, for fear of death returned to the Religion of their Ancestors, only seven were stabbed with daggers by the raging people.

Septembr. 22.

Also *Sanseranus* Governor of *Auvergne*, who also was well affected to the Momorancies, used the same moderation, and made the same answer to those that came posting to him from Court, that the Count of Tende had done before him, adding to this moreover, that he would never obey such commands, unless the King in person did command him.

Greater was the fury that did rage at *Tholouse*: for news of what had been done at Paris being brought prid. Kal. VIIbr. which was the Lord's-day, upon which the Protestants went out of the City to Castanetum to Sermon, straitway the Gates were shut up, and care was taken that no one should go out, but that whosoever would might come in. But many of those that had gone out would not return into the City, but went thence to † le Puy, St. Laurence, Montauban, * Regimont, and some one way, some another. Two days after, by authority of the Senate, publick Proclamation was made, that no violence or molestation should be offered to the Protestants. The day following, Guards being set at the Gates of the City, and in the Streets, those that were suspected are some of them distributed into Monasteries, others are cast into the common prisons; some days after, upon the coming from Court of *Delpechius* and *Madronius*, rich Merchants, and most bitter enemies to the Protestants, they were all thrown into the Palace prison, where presently in the night, by certain cut-throats chosen out of the Students of the Civil Law, that went to the Fencing-School, (among whom one *Turrius* was most eminent), together with other men of lewd life and conversation, 200 were barbarously slain, and among them some Senators, and in the first place

Augusti. 31.

† Podium Laurentii.
* Regium montem.

Joban-

Johannes Corasius: who afterwards, to double their cruelty, were hanged in their Senatorian habits, upon an Elm growing in the Palace-yard: the bodies of the dead were buried in a ditch made in the Arch-Bishop's house.

At the same time, but with greater slaughter, were things carried at *Rouen*, where *Tanaquilius Venator Carrugius*, the Governor of the chief Nobility of Provence, a man of a merciful disposition, did what he could to hinder it. But at last, not being able any longer to withstand the violence of the seditious, (and especially of those who, the year before, were, by the decree of the Judges, delegated from Paris, proscribed, who hoped that, by this course, they should both revenge the injury offered them, and also obliterate the memory of the Decree), many were thrown into prison, and afterwards 15 Kal. of VIII br. being called out one by one by the voice of the Cryer, were cruelly slain by those Emissaries, *Maronimus* a most wicked wretch leading them on. Upon this they set upon private houses, and that day and the day following they fell upon men & women, without distinction, and 500 of both sexes and all ages were slain, and their bodies being stripped, were cast into the ditches ad Portam Caletensem, and their garments all bloudy as they were, were distributed among the poor, they seeking even by these murders to ingratiate themselves with the people. This the Senate was in shew offended at, and began to proceed against the Authors of this fact: but through connivance it came to nothing, the murderers and cut-throats for a time slipping out of the City. Septemb. 17.

This example raged through *other Cities*, and from Cities to *Towns and Villages*; and it is reported by many, that † more than thirty thousand were *slain* in those tumults throughout the Kingdom, by several ways; though I believe the number was somewhat less.

† *It was Credibly reported that there were slain above 40000 Hugonots in a few days*, saith Davila, p. 376.

[*In September*, Castres, *a City in la Paix Albigeois, which was held by the Protestants, when after great promises by the King for their safety, it was delivered into the hands of Creuseta one of the principal of the neighbouring Gentry, it was by him cruelly plundered, and laid waste.*

[*In the beginning of October happened* the Massacre at Burdeaux. *The Author and chief Promoter of it is reported to have been one* Enimundus Augerius, *of the Society at Claremont, who also is said to have perswaded* Franciscus Baulo, *a very rich Senator of Burdeaux that he should leave his wife; and being supported by his wealth, he had founded a rich School in that City: He, when as he did in his Sermons daily inflame his Auditors, that after the example of the Parisians they should dare to do something worthy of their piety: so especially upon S. Michael's day, when he treated of the Angels, the ministers of the grace and vengeance of God, what things had been done at Paris, Orleance, and other places, he did again and again, by often repeated Speeches, inculcate, to have been done by the Angel of God; and did both openly and privately upbraid* Romanus Mulus *the King's Solicitor, and* Carolus Monferrandus *Governor of the City men of his faction, as dull and cold in this business, who contented themselves to have interdicted the Protestants the liberty of meeting together, and to have kept the Gates of the City with guards; but otherwise they wholly abstained from violence and slaughters, being admonished so to do, as is believed by Stozzius, who had a design upon Rochel, & who did fear, lest that should hinder his attempts. But when as about that time* Monpesatus *came to* Blaye, *as though the sign for effusion of bloud had been given by his coming, certain men were slain in that Town. But when he arrived at Burdeaux, the people began to rage, and the seditious to run up and down.* Enimundus thundered in his Preaching *more than ever: at last, after some days private discourses of* Monpesatus *with* Monferrandus, *though it be uncertain whether he did discourage or perswade the thing, when* Monpesatus *was departed, (who) a little while after died of a Bloudy Flux.*

Octobr. 3. *V Non. VIII br. which fell upon a Friday, the Magistrates of the City with their Officers, as they were sent, came after dinner to the house of* Monferrandus, *bringing with them lewd & impudently wicked men, who were drawn together by* Petrus Lestonacus, *and receiving the word of command from him, they ran through the City to the slaughter, being distinguished by their red Caps, a sign very agreeable to their bloudy design. They began with* Joannes Guillochius, and Gul. Sevinus, *Senators, who were both cruelly murdered*

murdered in their houses, which were presently rifled. Also Bucherus *the Senator, who had redeemed his life of Monferrandus for a great sum of mony, did hardly escape the danger, whose house was also plundered. Then promiscuous slaughters and rapines are committed for three days together throughout the City, wherein* two hundred sixty four *men are said to be slain, and the Massacre had been much greater, had not the Castle of Buccina and the other Castle of the City yielded an opportune place of refuge to many.* Jacobus Benedictus Longobastonus *President of the Court was in great danger of death, and was hardly preserved by the help of his friends.*]

29. Nor were they in the mean time in quiet at Paris and at Court, where, by the Queens special command, and the diligence of Morvillerius, *Coligny's Cabinet* was *examined*, if by any means they might find any thing in them which, being published, might take off the odium of so bloudy a fact either in the Kingdom or with foreign Princes. Among those Commentaries which he did every day diligently write, which were afterwards destroyed by the Queens command, there was a passage in which he advised the King that he should be sparing in assigning the hereditary portion, which they call Appennage, to his Brethren, and in giving them authority, which having read, and acquainting Alanson with it, whom she had perceived to favour Coligny; This is your beloved cordial friend, saith the Queen, who thus advised the King. To whom Alanson answered, 'How much he loved 'me, I know not; but this advice could proceed from none 'but one that was faithful to the King, and careful for his 'affairs.

Again, there was among his papers found a breviate, wherein, among other reasons that he gave for the necessity of a War with the Spaniards in the Low-Countreys, this was added, as being omitted in the Speech which he made to the King, lest it should be divulged, and therefore was to be secretly communicated to the King, that if the King did not accept of the condition that the Low-Countreys offered, he should † not transfer it to his neighbours of England, who, though they were now, as things stood, friends to the King, if once

† V. Walsingham's Letter 14 Septemb. 1572. in the Compleat Ambassador, p. 241.

once they set footing in the Low-Countreys and the Provinces bordering upon the Kingdom, would resume their former minds, and being invited by that conveniency, of friends would become the worst enemies to the King and Kingdom. Which being likewise imparted to Walsingham, Queen Elizabeths Ambassador, and the Queen telling him, that by that he might judge how well Coligny was affected towards the Queen his Mistress, who so much loved him. He made her almost the same answer, and said, 'He did not know how 'he was affected towards the Queen his Mistress; but this he 'knew, that that counsel did savour of one that was faithful 'to the King, and most studious of the honour of France, and 'in whose death both the King and all France had a great 'loss. So both of them, by almost the same answer, frustrated her womanish policy, not without shame unto her self.

About the end of the month wherein Coligny was slain, *the King* fearing lest the Protestants should grow desperate in other Provinces, *writes to the Governors with* most ample commands, and principally to *Feliomrus Chabolius* President of Burgundy, in which he commanded that he should go through the Cities and Towns that were under his jurisdiction, and friendly convene the Protestants, and acquaint them with the tumult at Paris, and the true causes thereof. 'That nothing 'was done in that affair through hatred of their Religion, or 'in prejudice to the favour that was granted them by the last 'Edict: but that he might prevent the conspiracy made by 'Coligny and his confederates against the King, the Queen, 'the King's Brethren, the King of Navar, and other Princes 'and Nobles. That it was the King's pleasure that his Edicts 'might be observed, and that the Protestants every where 'taking forth Letters of security from the Presidents, should 'live quietly and safely under the King's protection, upon 'pain of death to any that should injure or molest them in any 'thing. On the other hand, he should admonish the Protestants 'that they should keep themselves quiet at home; and because 'in their Meetings and publick Assemblies there used to be 'such Counsels among the Protestants as were suspitious to Catho-

Carnii Comes.

'Catholicks, and which might put them upon new ſtirs, there-'fore, that they ſhould abſtain from thoſe meetings, and ex-'pect the ſame favour and ſafety from the King's clemency 'and goodneſs as he doth exerciſe towards others. But if 'they ſhould fooliſhly neglect this advice, command and 'promiſe of the King, and ſhould preſume to meet publickly, 'ſtir up troubles, and take up Arms under colour of their own 'defence, he would then proceed againſt them as againſt Re-'bels. To the ſame effect were Letters ſent to *Melchior Mon-peſatus*, Preſident of Poictou, *Pria* Preſident of Toures, and the Preſidents of other Provinces. *Chabolius* managed his office with great prudence and moderation, having learnt that 'the Proteſtants, who had hitherto been exaſperated by ſeve-rity and cruelty of puniſhments, might be better reduced to their duty by clemency and mildneſs. And matters were or-dered without almoſt any bloud-ſhed in *Burgundy*; many returning either through fear, or of their own accord, to the Religion of their Anceſtors, renouncing the Proteſtant Do-ctrines. Only *Claromontius Travius* of the prime Nobility, whoſe Siſter Helena Antonius Grammontanus had married, was, when the news was hot, ſlain *at Dijon*, in the abſence of Chabotius, by the people. Thoſe that were ſuſpected *at Maſcon*, being by the King's command apprehended and caſt into priſon by Philibertus, ſuſtained no further damage.

30. So foul a tempeſt in France being in ſome ſort allayed, and the liberty of killing and plundering repreſſed, when the more prudent, that yet no way favoured the Proteſtant party, did, upon the ſad thought of the preſent ſtate of things, by little and little, come to themſelves, and abhorring the fact, did curiouſly enquire into the cauſes of it, and how it might be excuſed, they thus judged, 'That *no example of like cruelty* 'could be found *in all Antiquity*, though we turned over the 'Annals of all Nations. Theſe kinds of outrages had been 'confined to certain men, or to one place, and might have 'been excuſed by the ſenſe of injury newly offered, or their 'rage did only exerciſe it ſelf upon thoſe whom it was their 'intereſt to remove out of the way. For ſo by the command 'of *Mithridates* King of Pontus upon one meſſage, and the

ſignifi-

The Sicilian Vespers.

'ſignification of one Letter 40000 Romans were ſlain in one 'day throughout all Aſia. So *Peter King of Arragon* com-'manded 8000 French-men to be ſlain in Sicily, who had 'ſeized upon it in his abſence: But their caſe was far different 'from this: For thoſe Kings exerciſed their rage upon ſtran-'gers and foreigners, but this (King) upon his own ſubjects, 'who were not more committed to his power than to his 'faith and truſt. *They* were obliged no otherwiſe by their 'faith given than to the ſtrangers themſelves, but *he* was 'bound in a late league with his neighbouring Kings and 'Princes, to keep that Peace which he had ſworn to. *They* 'uſed no arts unworthy of royal dignity to deceive them, *he*, 'for a ſnare abuſed his new engaged friendſhip, and the ſacred 'Nuptials of his own Siſter, whoſe wedding garment was 'even ſtained with bloud. Theſe are the vertues that uſe to 'be commended in Kings, Juſtice, Gentleneſs and Clemency; 'but ſavageneſs and cruelty, as in all others, ſo eſpecially in 'Princes uſe to be condemned. Famous through all ages was 'Publius Scipio, who was wont to ſay he had rather ſave one 'Citizen, than ſlay a thouſand enemies; and Antonius, who 'was called the Pious, did often uſe that ſaying. Kings in-'deed have power of life and death over the Subjects of 'their Realm, but with this limitation, that they ſhould not 'proceed againſt them till their cauſe was heard upon a fair 'tryal. This rage and blindneſs of mind was ſent by God 'upon the French, as a judgment for the daily execrations and 'reproaches of the Deity, from which the King himſelf, ill 'educated by his Mother, and by thoſe Tutors that ſhe ap-'pointed him, did not at all abſtain; the example whereof 'proceeding from the Court to the Cities, and from the Ci-'ties to the Country-Towns and Villages, they now at every 'third word, ſwore by the head, death, bloud, heart of God. 'Moreover, the patience of God was even wearied with their 'Whoredoms, Adulteries, and ſuch luſts as are not fit to be 'ſpoken. Laſtly, nature it ſelf doth now expoſtulate as it 'were with God for his ſo long patience and forbearance, nor 'could the Country of France any longer bear ſuch prodigi-'ous wickedneſs. For as for *the cauſes* which are *pretended* 'againſt

'*againſt Coligny*, they are feigned with ſuch improbability,
'that they can hardly perſwade children, much leſs can they
'be proved. For how is it probable that Coligny ſhould en-
'ter into ſuch a conſpiracy within the walls of Paris, who
'though he were guilty before the Pacification, (to ſuppoſe
'that), yet certainly after the Edict, if indeed the publick
'Faith and the King's promiſes ought to be obſerved, he came
'to the King guiltleſs, altogether abhorring a Civil War,
'and ſolicitous only about the Belgick War? But whereas
'they ſay he conſpired after he had received his wounds, this
'hath leſs colour of truth. For how could Coligny that
'was indiſpoſed by two ſuch wounds, now grown old, diſ-
'abled in both his arms, one of which the Phyſitians talked
'of cutting off, riſe with three hundred young men that at-
'tended him, againſt an Army of ſixty thouſand men, that
'bare him deadly hatred, and that were well appointed with
'Arms? How could he in ſo little time conſult concerning ſo
'great and vaſt a deſign? for he lived hardly forty hours af-
'ter he had received his wound, in which all conference was
'forbidden him by his Phyſitians. Then, had he been ac-
'cuſed of any crime, was he not committed to Coſſenius and
'his guards, and the paſſages being every where ſecured, was
'he not in the King's power, that he might in a moment, if
'it had ſo pleaſed the King, been thruſt into priſon? and wit-
'neſſes being prepared, after the manner of judicial proceed-
'ings, might he not have been proceeded againſt in form of
'Law? Moreover, if Coligni with his Dependents and Clients
'had conſpired againſt the King, why muſt needs the reſt that
'were innocent, ſo many Noble Matrons and Virgins who
'came thither upon the account of the Marriage, ſo many
'great-bellied women, ſo many ancient perſons, ſo many bed-
'ridden perſons of both Sexes and all profeſſions, that were
'ignorant of theſe laſt counſels of Coligni, be comprehended
'in the ſame guilt? To whom doth it not ſeem abſurd and
'moſt ridiculous that Coligni ſhould at ſo unſeaſonable a
'time conſpire againſt Navar that profeſſed the ſame Reli-
'gion with him, and whom he had in his power for four

'years together? Thus many did discourse, and so they 'judged, that upon the account of this fact the French Name 'would for a long time labour under an odium and infamy, 'and that posterity would never forget an act of so great 'unworthiness.

Typographical Errors to be Corrected as followeth, in

The Hist. of the Massacre: Pag. 5 l. 1. Burleigh, l. 7. Cosmus, p. 7. l. 4. compact, p. 8. l. 10. when he, l. 36. Palace near the Louvre, p. 12. l. 1. receive, p. 13. l. 28. Antonius Marasinus Guerchius (*without commas*), so p. 14. l. 2. Rochus Sorbæus Prunæus, l. 7. Armanus Claromontius Pilius, l. 8. Moninius. l. 26. racket, p. 18. l. 7. your Kingdom, p. 21. l. 9. as he did, p. 28. l. 11. Cossenius, l. 36. Atinius, l. 37. Sarlaboux, p. 29. l. 5. Merlin the Minister, Coligny, p. 32. l. 32. Claromontius Marquess of Renel, p. 34. l. 19. Caumontius, p. 35. l. 25. Montalbertus Roboreus, Joach. Vassorius Cunerius, Rupius, Columbarius, Velavaurius, Gervasius Barberius Francurius, p. 36. l. 15. Armanus Claromontius Pilius, l. 32. Bellovarius, l. 36. Durfortius Duracius, l. 37. Gomacius & Buchavanius, p. 40. l. 36. Perionius, p. 41. l. 13. Languages, *who had private feuds and contentions with Carpentar*, & l. 22. to those, l. 30. Roliardus, p. 43. l. 2. Sancomontius Sauromanius, l. 3. Bricomotius, p. 53. l. 33. Meletinus, p. 57. l. 17. Arles, where, l. 36. suspition of poison given, p. 58. l. 2. Mombrunius, p. 62. l. 20. Helionorus Chabotius, p. 63. l. 11. Chabotius.

The Hist. of the Powder-Plot: Pag. 8. l. 27. Harrington, p. 14. l. 30. detest, p. 15 l. 21. for wikes, r. *de Vic*, p. 16. in marg. So on the, p. 22. l. 27. dele Book entituled, l. 29. for Provincial, r. *Father General*.

A TRUE

NARRATION

Of that Horrible *CONSPIRACY*

AGAINST

King JAMES

And the whole *PARLIAMENT*,

OF

ENGLAND,

Commonly called the

Gun-Powder TREASON:

Written in Latine by *Jacobus Augustus Thuanus*, Privy-Councillor to the King of *France*, and President of the Supream Senate of that *Kingdom*.

Faithfully rendred into English.

LONDON,
Printed for *John Leigh* at the Sign of the *Blew Bell* by *Flying-Horse* Court in *Fleet-street*. 1674.

464:07

The History of the Powder-Plot, *Translated out of* Thuanus, *lib.* 135.

CIↃIↃCV.

NOw *shall we* in a contiued Relation declare that Horrid, and by all Parties justly * *detested* Conspiracy entred into against the King of *Great Britain*; which being discovered about the end of this year [1605] was in the next year suppressed by the Death of the Conspirators.

* *So detestable it seems it was to some of the Students of the* English *Colledge at* Rome, *that being informed of the discovery of the Plot, Sixteen of them (abhorring such jugling and bloody Designs) forsook the Colledge, slipt into* France, *some of them turning to the Church of* England, *whither they came.* Foulis, Hist. of Popish Treasons, *li.* 10. *c.* 2. *p.* 692.

To the Petition for Liberty of Conscience made by the Papists in the former Session of Parliament, and rejected by the King, there was a rumour there would be another preferred at the next Sessions, (which had been now often deferred) which should be in no danger of being denyed as the former, but should carry with it a necessity of being granted by the King whither he would or not. Therefore those that managed the Affairs of the Kingdom under a generous and no wayes suspicious King, fearing nothing worse, did make it their business to avoid such Petitions, and that necessity that did attend them. But among the Conspirators it was consulted,

ſulted, not, how they might obtain the Kings favour, which they now deſpaired of; but how they might revenge that repulſe, though with the ruine of the Kingdom, which the other never thought of.

The beginning of theſe Counſels are to be derived from the latter end of *Q. Elizabeth.* For then, as appeared afterwards by proofs and confeſſions, *Robert Winter* (to whom *Oſwald Teſmond* alias *Greenwell*, of the Society of the *Jeſuits* joyned himſelf as his Companion) was by the advice of *Hen. Garnet*, Provincial or Superiour of the ſaid Society in *England* (*Robert Cateſby* and *Francis Treſham* of the Gentry, inſtigating) privately *ſent into* Spain, in the name of the Catholicks, with Letters Commendatory to *Arthur Creſwell* of the ſame Society living in *Spain*, and with Commands to the King; of which this was the ſumme.

Dec. 1601. *Mandatis.*

That he ſhould forthwith ſend an Army into *England*, for which the Catholicks would be ready in Arms as ſoon as it came over. In the mean while that he ſhould aſſign yearly Penſions to ſome Catholick Gentlemen. Furthermore, that he ſhould inſinuate it to the King, that there were ſome Gentlemen and Military perſons that were aggrieved at the Preſent ſtate of things, whom he might eaſily draw to his Part, by relieving their neceſſities. And whereas the greateſt difficulty, after the Landing ſuch an Army, would be for ſupply of Horſes; they in *England* would take care to have Two thouſand Horſes ready provided upon all occaſions.

This thing was ſecretly tranſacted by the Mediation of *Creſwell* with *Petrus Franceſa* Secretary to King *Philip*, and *Franciſcus Sandovallius* Duke of *Lerma*, and he affirmed that the thing would be very acceptable to King *Philip*, and that he had offered his utmoſt aſſiſtance: that it was alſo agreed among them of the Place of Landing. For if the forces were great, then *Kent* and *Eſſex* would be moſt commodious for their Landing; if leſs, *Milford* in *Wales*; and that King *Philip* had promiſed by Count *Miranda* toward that Expedition Ten hundred thouſand Crowns. Stored with theſe promiſes, *Winter* returns into *England*, and acquaints *Garnet*, *Cateſby*, and *Treſham* what he had done.

Decies centena aureorum CIↃ.

Theſe

Theſe things were tranſacted under Q. *Elizabeth*: who dying about this time, *Chriſtopher Wright* who was privy to theſe Matters, is ſpeedily *ſent into Spain*, who bringing the News of the Queens Death, preſſeth the buſineſs of the Penſions and the Expedition. With him was ſent from *Bruxells* by *William Stanly*, *Hugh Owen*, and *Balduinus*, (one of the Society of the *Jeſuits*) *Guido Fawkes*, with Letters to *Creſwell* that he ſhould ſpeed the buſineſs. To him was given in Command, that he ſhould ſignifie to the King that the Condition of the Catholicks, would be more hard under the new King, then it had been under *Q. Elizabeth*; and therefore that he ſhould by no means deſiſt from ſo laudable an Enterprize. That *Milford* lay open for an eaſie Landing to *Spinola*.

Mar. 1603. Sir *Will. Stanly.* 22 *Jun.* 1603.

But the ſtate of things was changed by the death of the Queen, and King *Philip* returned an Anſwer worthy of a King, that he could no longer attend to their Petitions, for that he had ſent Ambaſſadors into *England*, to treat of Peace with the new King.

Therefore deſpairing of their deſign as to King *Philip*, the Conſpirators fly to their laſt and deſperate Counſels, and in the firſt place they make it *their buſineſs to ſatisfie their Conſciences*, and that being done, they confirm their reſolutions to attempt ſome great Enterprize. And *thus their Divines diſcourſed*.

To depoſe Kings, to grant their Kingdoms to others, is in the power of the Supream Judge of the Church; But all Hereticks being *ipſo jure* ſeparated from communion of the Faithful, are every year on Holy *Thurſday*, excommunicated by the Pope. And this holdeth not only in Profeſſed Hereticks, but in thoſe that are covertly ſuch, becauſe being reputed *ipſo Jure* Excommunicate they do incur the (ſame) Penalties, which are *ipſo facto* deſerved by profeſſed Hereticks. From thence it follows, that Kings and other Chriſtian Princes if they fall into Hereſie may be depoſed, and their Subjects diſcharged of their Allegiance. Nor can they recover their Right again, no, not though they ſhould be reconciled to the Church. When it is ſaid that the Church, the Common Mother of all, doth ſhut her boſome againſt none that

Cœna Domini.

return to her, this is to be underſtood with a diſtinction, *viz.* provided it be not to the damage or danger of the Church. For this is true as to the Soul, but not as to the Kingdom.

Nor ought this puniſhment to be extended only to Princes that are thus infected, but alſo to their Sons, who for their Fathers Sin are excluded from Succeſſion in the Kingdom. For Hereſie is a Leproſie, and an Hereditary Diſeaſe: and to ſpeak more plainly, he loſeth his Kingdom that deſerteth the *Roman* Religion: he is to be accurſed, abdicated, proſcribed; neither is he, nor any of his Poſterity to be reſtored to the Kingdom: as to his Soul, he may be abſolved by the Pope only.

Thinking themſelves abundantly ſecured *within* by theſe reaſonings, they begin to ſeek *outward* ſtrengthenings to their Conſpiracy: and chiefly *Secreſie*, which they ſealed by Confeſſion, and the receiving of the Sacrament. To this end *May*, 1604. there was *an Oath drawn up amongſt them*, in which they did engage their Faith by the H. Trinity and the Sacrament, which they were preſently to receive, that they would neither directly nor indirectly by word or circumſtance diſcover the Plot now to be communicated to them, nor would they deſiſt from proſecuting it, unleſs allowed by their Aſſociates.

Thus being encouraged by the Authority of their Divines, they betake themſelves to the adventure (as) not only lawful & laudable, but meritorious. This was done before *John Gerard* of that Society.

Unto this, after Confeſſion, by the Sacrament of the Holy Altar, were drawn in, the next *May*, at firſt five of the Conſpirators, *Robert Catesby*, *Tho. Winter*, *Tho. Percy*, Kinſman to the E. of *Northumberland*, *John Wright*, and the aforementioned *Fawkes* called out of *Flanders*.

Catesby, *the Author of this Tragedy*, thought it not enough that this, or that, or any ſingle perſon ſhould be aimed at, but that all, together, and at the ſame time, ſhould be comprehended in this Conſpiracy.

For ſo he reaſoned with himſelf.

The King himſelf might many wayes be taken away, but this would be nothing as long as the Prince and the Duke of *York* were alive: again, if they were removed, yet this would advantage nothing ſo long as there remained a Parliament, ſo vigilant, ſo circumſpect to whatever might happen: or if the Parliament could or the chief Members of it, could be deſtroyed, there would remain ſtill the Peers of the Realm; ſo many Prudent Perſons, ſo many powerful Earls, addicted to that Party, whom they could hardly reſiſt, and who by their Authority, Wealth and Dependants, would be able, if occaſion ſhould be, to reſtore things to their former ſtate. Therefore not by delayes, but at one blow all were to be ſwallowed up, and ſo laudable an Atchievement was to be brought to effect altogether, and at once.

At *Weſtminſter* there is an old Palace of very great Honor and Veneration for its Antiquity, in which the great Councils of the Kingdom are uſed to be celebrated; which by a word borrowed from us, they call a Parliament. In this, the King with His Male iſſue, the Biſhops of His Privy Councel, the Peers, the *Engliſh* Nobility, the Chief Magiſtrates, and thoſe that are delegated from particular Counties, Cities, Towns, and Burroughs; in ſhort, the Men of greateſt Wiſdom and Counſel do meet together.

Here *Catesby* thought a convenient place to execute his ſo long ſtudied and digeſted Plot: and having made a Vault, and ſtoring it with a great quantity of Gun-Powder, to involve all thoſe together, who could not ſeverally be taken, together with the King and His Family in the Rubbiſh of the ſame Ruines.

Therefore when he had dealt with *Piercy*, and he after many bitter complaints of the King, through impatience, broke forth into theſe words, 'That there was only one way left to be 'delivered from ſo many Evils, and that was to take the King 'out of the way, and to that end, as he was ready for any 'attempt, did freely offer his own Service. *Catesby*, who was more cautious and cunning, moderated the Gentlemans heat, and, 'God forbid, ſaid he, that this Head of thine ſo

'dear

'dear to all good men ſhould be ſo fruitleſly expoſed to ſuch 'danger. The buſineſs may be undertaken and accompliſhed, 'yet ſo as that you and ſuch as you are may ſtill be preſer-'ved for further conſulting for Religion and the Publick 'weal.

Then he opens his deſign in very plauſible words, and with like Artifice ſhews him the manner how it was to be effected. *Piercy* agrees, and preſently hires an Houſe nigh to the place, and very opportune to work his Vault.

The Parliament that was called the year before, was deferred till *February* following. Mean while, *Tho. Bates*, *Catesby*'s Servant, a dextrous Fellow, and one in whom his Maſter did much confide, being, leaſt he ſhould ſuſpect any thing, taken into the privity of the Fact, when at firſt he ſeemed to be moved at the horridneſs of the thing, he is ſent to *Teſmund* alias *Greenwell*, (for thoſe men, that they might the better be undiſcovered, went under two Names, ſometimes under three) by whom he was perſwaded, and ſtrangely confirmed to the Execution of the deſign, being made ſenſible of the Meritoriouſneſs of the work. Afterwards *Robert Keyes*, and after him *Ambroſe Rockwood*, and *John Grant*, were taken into the Plot. III Eid. Xbr. *the Vault* was *begun*, *Chriſtopher Wiſnie*, and a little after *Robert Winter* being alſo taken into the Society.

Nov. 1604.

Dec. 11.

The work being often intermitted and often repeated, at length the Vault was brought to the Wall of the Court, where a new difficulty ariſeth from the hardneſs of the Wall, and the thickneſs of three Ells; ſo that under a long time the work could not be finiſhed, and there were now but a few dayes to the ſitting of the Parliament.

And now the pertinacious induſtry of the Workmen had almoſt beat its way through the middle of the Wall, and they ſeemed not ſo much to want good minds (to the work) as time, when as *the Parliament* was *put off till* the Month of *October*. Then *was Deſpair* turned into Joy, with certain confidence that they ſhould effect their deſign: and it was obſerved that whiles they briskly beat upon the Wall, there was a noiſe heard upon the other ſide of the Wall. Thither *Fawks* is ſent to enquire out the cauſe. He brings word back that there

there was *a Cellar under Ground*, from whence they were removing Cole, he beinſt lately Dead who had hired that Cellar for his own uſe. Therefore the Conſpirators thinking that Cellar more commodious, by the help of *Piercy*, let out their other Houſes, and bring all their *Materials* & hopes into this. Such was the opportuneneſs of the place (for it was almoſt directly under the Royal Throne) that ſo ſeaſonable an accident did make them perſwade themſelves, that God did by a ſecret Conduct favour their Attempt. Theſe things happened about the Feaſt of *Eaſter*. The Gun-powder is at their leiſure carried into the Cellar from *Catesby*'s Houſe over againſt the Palace, where it had been with great care and diligence brought together; Firſt, Twenty Barrels are layed in and covered with Billets and Faggots.

Then the Conſpirators being ſure of the good event, began to *conſult what was to be done after they had effected their Plot*: Firſt, they conſider'd of taking the Prince, who about that time, they came to underſtand, would not come to the Parliament with his Father, contrary to what they concluded in the beginning, and againſt him they plotted deſtruction, as one that was no Friend of theirs, and they had found out a way for it.

The next care was for *Supplies of Money*, concerning which they thought they had ſufficiently provided. They had alſo provided that the *Peers and Gentry addicted to Popery*, ſhould, as much as might be, be *exempt* from danger. Laſtly, they debated concerning *calling in Forreign Princes* to their aſſiſtance; but being doubtful of their faith and ſecreſie, they thought fit not to ſend to them till they had accompliſhed their deſign; for commonly ſuch Actions are not commended but by their Event.

They paſſed their Judgments upon them ſeverally, *the Spaniards* ſeemed to be more oppottune for them, but too remote, and too ſlow in raiſing Forces. *The French* was near, but fearful and ſuſpected for the cloſe league he held with the *Dutch*. The moſt preſent help was from *Flanders*, from whence they might moſt commodiouſly expect Supplies; for which *Stanly* was deſigned the Captain or Commander.

Moreover,

Moreover, that they might the more eaſily deceive the world, and leaſt by their paſſing to and fro to thoſe places they ſhould give ſome cauſe of Suſpition, *they go their ſeveral wayes*; ſome into the Countrey, ſome a great way out of the Iſland, waiting for the time appointed for the Execution. *Fawks* went into *Flanders* that he might acquaint *Stanly* and *Owen* with the whole Matter, nor did he return into *England* till the latter end of *Auguſt*.

Catesby, that he might not be idle in the mean time, gets *Francis Treſham* and *Everard Digby* to his Party, agreeing with them for *Supply of Money*, and the former promiſd Two thouſand pounds of *Engliſh* Money, the other Fifteen hundred. *Piercy*, that was prodigal at another mans charge, promiſed whatſoever he could ſcrape together of the Revenues of the E. of *Northumberland*.

In the mean time, *Ten more Barrels of Gun-powder* are added to the former, and four more greater than the reſt, upon ſuſpition, leaſt by the moiſtneſs of the place, the former ſhould have been ſpoiled; and again, they are all covered over with a great heap of ſtones and wood

And now the time of *the Parliaments* convening drew on, which was *again put off* till the *Nones of November*. Therefore the Conſpirators did again repeat their conſultation, and ſome were appointed who, on the ſame day that the Enterprize was to be Executed, ſhould *ſeize upon the Lady* Elizabeth (the Kings eldeſt Daughter, who was brought up under the Lord *Farrington* in *Warwick-ſhire*) under pretence of an Hunting Match, which *Everard Digby*, who was privy to the matter, had appointed with great *preparation* at *Duncburch*. Her they decreed publickly to Proclaim Queen.

5 *Nov.*

They taking to themſelves the Titles of the Aſſertors of liberty, did nothing leſs at firſt than profeſs themſelves the Authors of the Fact, or make any mention of Religion to the People, but purpoſed to hold that in ſuſpenſe for ſome time, and by *a Proclamation* publiſhed in the Queens name to redreſs great grievances for the preſent, and feed them with hopes of more for the future, till the Faction growing ſtrong, either by favour or ſeverity of new Edicts, they might draw the People

* *They purpoſed when the blow was firſt given ---but the ſucceſs thereof doubtful, to father the fact on the Puritans.* Fuller *v.* Foulis. *p.* 690.

to

to their Parts and Obedience; and the *odiouſneſs* of their fact ſo by degrees diſcovering it ſelf would in time, and together with their good ſucceſs grow off.

Nor came it in ſo long time into the minds of any of them how many Innocents all about them, how many Infants, how many that agreed with them in Religion, how many who perhaps had deſerved well of them that vaſt ruine would over-whelm.

Now all things are ready, and the laſt Scene was going to be Acted, when as by the unſearchable Judgment of God, one who deſired to ſave another, brought deſtruction both to himſelf and his Aſſociates.

There were ten dayes to the Parliament, when upon *Saturday* in the Evening a Letter was brought as from a Friend to the Lord *Monteagle*, but by whom written, is uncertain, and by whom brought unknown. By it he was warned to forbear meeting at the Parliament for the two firſt dayes of the Seſſion; foraſmuch as ſome great, and ſudden, and unſuſpected miſchief did threaten that Meeting.

The hand of him that wrote it was unknown, and the writing it ſelf purpoſely ſo ordered, that it could hardly be read. No date to the Letter, no ſubſcription, no inſcription put to it, and the whole compoſure of words ambiguous.

The Lord *Monteagle* was doubtful what he ſhould do; therefore late in the night he goeth to *Robert Cecil* Earl of *Salisbury*, and chief Secretary to the King, and giving him the Letter, freely declared to him how he came by it, and how little he valued it. *Cecil* did not make much more account of it, and yet thought it was not altogether to be neglected; and Therefore ſhewed it to the chief Councellors, *Charles Howard*, Chief Admiral of the Seas, the Earl of *Nottingham*, to the Earls of *Worceſter*, and *Northampton*.

The thing being conſidered of amongſt them, although at firſt ſight the Letter ſeemed of no great moment; yet they thought that not the ſlighteſt diſcovery ought to be deſpiſed, eſpecially where the ſafety of the King was endangered, nor ſuch great care to be blamed in them, to whom the preſervation of His Majeſty did both by Office and Duty belong.

The King was then gone to *Royſton*, to Hunt. It ſeemed good to them to determine nothing before they had conſulted the King. For they ſaid that they had oftentimes experienced the quick apprehenſion, and *happy conjecture* of the King in *unriddleing things that were liable to greateſt doubtfulneſs.*

1 *Nov.* Upon the Calends of *November*, *the King returned* to the City, and forth with *Cecil* taking him aſide, unfolds the matter, and ſhews him *the Letter*, which it ſeems worth while to inſert here for the perpetual remembrance of it; foraſmuch as not without cauſe it afforded ſuch matter of diſpute between him and his Councellors.

'The love which I bear to ſome of your Friends makes 'me careful for your ſafety. Wherefore I adviſe you, as you 'love your life, that you would invent ſome excuſe for your 'abſence from the Parliament. For God and Men, as it were 'by agreement do haſten to puniſh the wickedneſs of this 'Age. Do not make light of this warning, but depart as ſoon 'as you can into your own Countrey, where you may ſecurely 'expect the event. For although no ſigns of troubles do 'appear, yet I admoniſh you, that that meeting ſhall receive 'a terrible blow, and ſhall not ſee who ſmiteth them. Do not 'deſpiſe this diſcovery, it may be profitable to you, it cannot 'hurt you. For the danger is over as ſoon as you have burnt 'this Letter. I hope by the grace of God you will make good 'uſe of this Counſell, to whoſe protection I commend you.

The King having read the Letter (though through the generouſneſs of his mind, he was no way prone to ſuſpicion) did conjecture that ſome ſtrange thing did lye hid under it, and that the notice given, was by no means to be neglected.

On the other ſide, *Cecil* ſaid, it was certainly written by ſome Mad man: For no man well in his wits would ſpeak at this rate of a danger which he doth admoniſh ſo much to beware of. *The danger is over as ſoon as you ſhall burn the Letter.* How ſmall a danger could that be which ſhould vaniſh in ſo ſhort a moment.

On the other ſide the King, in whoſe breaſt the firſt ſuſpition had now taken deep root, urged the foregoing words, *That aſſembly ſhall receive a terrible blow, and ſhall not ſee who ſmiteth*

ſmiteth them. And whiles walking in the Gallery he deeply thought of theſe things from one particular to another, it came into his mind that a ſudden blow by Gun-powder was intended by thoſe words : For what more ſudden then a blow by Gun-powder ?

Thus the King and *Salisbury* ſo broke off their diſcourſe, that the King did ſtrongly perſevere in his conjecture. *Salisbury* to free the Kings mind from fears and cares ſeemed in his preſence to make light of this notice given ; but in the mean time admiring within himſelf the Kings uncouth and unuſual interpretation, and ſo preſently ſuſpecting it, did conclude, that it was not lightly to be regarded.

The next day the thing being again conſidered of by the King, and His Counſellors, it ſeemed good that the *Palace* with the places near adjoyning, ſhould be diligently ſearched, and that buſineſs was aſſigned to the Lord *Chamberlain*, who upon the *Monday* which preceded the Parliament, about the Evening, that he might give no occaſion of Rumours, goes with the Lord *Monteagle* to thoſe places : entring into the houſe that *Percy* had hired, they found a great heap of Billets and Fagots and Coal in a Vault under ground ; and *Wineard* the Keeper of the Kings *houſes* being there preſent, he was asked for what uſe they were brought in thither ? they underſtood that the houſe was hired by *Percy*, and that heap was brought in by him. *Wardrobe.*

Moreover the Chamberlain ſpying *Fawks* ſtanding in a corner of the Cellar, asked who he was, and what buſineſs he had there ? Who anſwered, that he was the Domeſtick Servant of *Percy*, and the Keeper of that houſe in *Percy*'s abſence.

Having thus done, they return to the Court, reporting what they had ſeen, and conjecturing worſe things then formerly they had done. For it came into *Monteagles* mind upon the mention of *Percy*, that he was highly addicted to the Popiſh Religion, that they had formerly been acquainted, and lived as Friends, and it might be that he was the Author of that Letter which gave ground to all this ſuſpition.

The Lord Chamberlain among other ſuſpicious matters, did revolve in his mind, that that ſtore of wood in the houſe of

Percy, where he ſeldom reſided, was not brought in thither to no purpoſe, and that that Servant of *Percy* whom he ſaw in the Cellar, looked like a deſperate, wicked Knave.

All which things did increaſe the Kings ſuſpition, who would have that Vault further ſearched again; but leaſt if nothing were found, the Counſellors ſhould make themſelves ridiculous to the People, as if they were afraid of every light report; and moreover, fearing, leaſt whiles they appeared to ſuſpect *Percy*, who was allied in Blood to the chiefeſt Peers of the Realm, they ſhould ſeem to ſuſpect the Earl of *Northumberland* himſelf: yet when the ſafety of the King did prevail upon them, they ſo ordered the matter, that ſearch ſhould be made without noiſe or injury to any.

It was given in command to Sir *Thomas Knevet*, Juſtice of Peace for *Weſtminſter*, that in the dead of the Night he ſhould go with a convenient company to that houſe, and ſhould take *Wineard* along with him, under pretence that he had loſt ſome Hangings and Tapeſtry.

Thither Sir *Tho. Knevet* going, finds *Fawks*, *Percy*'s Domeſtick Servant, who under a feigned name called himſelf *John Johnſon*, before the Houſe booted and habited for a Journey; and he gives command preſently to lay hold on him. From thence going into the Cellar, he ſpeedily removes the Wood and Coal, which being removed, the Treaſon appeared, one little Barrel of Gun-powder being firſt diſcovered by it ſelf, and afterward the heap being removed 36 Barrels of different magnitude were found there.

Then turning to the Priſoner, and examining his Garments they found in them tinder, and three Match cords.

But he being taken in the Fact, and not able to deny, the caſe being now deſperate, he of his own accord confeſſed the Crime, and with an unappalled countenance (as he was a man of a reſolute mind to undertake any deſperate attempt) he added, that it was well for them that they found him before the houſe, now lately come out of the Cellar, in which all things were ready: for if they had found him within, he would not have ſtood to have buried himſelf and them together, by putting fire to the Train.

Knevet

Knevet having diſcovered the matter, returns forthwith rejoicing to the Palace, about Four a Clock in the Morning, and acquaints *Salisbury* and the Lord Chamberlain; who preſently with a noiſe ruſh into the Kings Bed Chamber, and tell him the Treaſon was detected, and they had the Author of it in Cuſtody and Bonds.

The fame of this being ſpread abroad, for in ſo great a matter of Joy it could not be concealed, *the Conſpirators fly* ſome this way, ſome that way, and *meet together at* Holbech at the houſe of *Stephen Littleton*, in the borders of *Staffordſhire.*

Thither came thoſe that were privy to the Conſpiracy out of *Warwickſhire* and *Worceſter-ſhire*; although they were ignorant of the diſcovery of the Plot, having taken away by force from Gentlemens houſes their Warr-horſes; thereby giving a manifeſt token what they would have done when they had got the power in their hands, when as they ravaged with ſuch boldneſs, while the event was yet doubtful.

The Leaders of the Faction truſted that great numbers of Men, and a conſiderable Army would flock into them, as ſoon as they ſhould appear in Arms. But the Lieutenants and Sheriffs being before, while the Treaſon was only ſuſpected, Commanded by the King to ride about their Counties, their attempts were all made void, and ſcarcely an Hundred of all that number appeared in Arms. And they were encompaſſed by *Richard Walſh*, High Sheriff of the County of *Worceſter*, who came upon them unexpectedly with a ſtrong power of Men, ſo that they could not eſcape.

When deſpairing of Pardon, and their troubled Conſciences putting them upon deſperate exploits, the *Gun-powder* that was drying by the Fire, took fire by a ſparkle that fell into it, and ſo ſuddenly burnt the Faces, Sides, Arms, Hands of the Beſieged, that they were rendered unable to handle their Arms, and ſo loſt their ſtrength and courage together.

Catesby and *Percy*, that were moſt active, together with *Tho. Winter*, while they betake themſelves to a corner of the houſe, are *both ſhot* through with a Leaden Bullet. *Winter* being wounded, fell into the hands of the Kings Party, *both*

the

the Wrights were ſlain; *Grant*, *Digby*, *Rockwood*, and *Bates* were taken Priſoners. *Treſham* whiles ſhifting his Lodgings in *London*, he ſometime eſcaped, yet at laſt was taken: *Robert Winter* and *Littleton* a long time wandring up and down the Woods, at laſt fell into the hands of the Guards, and were all committed to the *Tower* at *London*.

Being *Examined* without the rack, (for only *Fawks* was put under this way of Examination, and that but moderately) they ſeverally diſcovered the whole ſeries of the matter as we have before recounted, and taxed none in Holy Orders, which many looked upon as purpoſely avoided, becauſe they were bound by Oath not to do it. When as *Francis Treſham* had before he dyed in Priſon of his own accord nominated *Henry Garnet*, being admoniſhed thereof by his Wife he wrote a Letter to the Earl of *Salisbury*, and excuſing his too raſh confeſſion, he ſo *diſcharged* Garnet *as much as in him lay* by a ſolemn adjuration interpoſed, that he did entangle himſelf in a notorious lye, affirming † that he had not ſeen *Garnet* of ſixteen years; when as it did appear afterward by the confeſſion of *Garnet* * that they had often and for a long time together converſed one with another, before the ſix Moneths laſt paſt.

† *He took it upon his Salvation, even in* articulo mortis, (*a lamentable thing*) *for within three hours after he dyed.* Proceedings againſt the late Traitors. C c 2. 3. * *And of Mrs.* Anne Vaux, *who confeſſed that ſhe had ſeen Mr.* Treſham *with* Garnet *at her houſe three or four times ſince the Kings coming in; and that they were at* Erith *together the laſt Summer, and that* Garnet *and ſhe were not long ſince with Mr.* Treſham *at his houſe in* Northampton-ſhire, *and ſtayed there.* Proceedings, *ibid.*

CIↃIↃCVI. *Digby* confeſſing the matter as it was in truth endeavoured † to excuſe the horridneſs of the Fact, which he acknowledged and ſeemed to detect, by the deſperateneſs of their condition: For being made to *hope that the new King*, upon his coming to the Kingdom, *would indulge liberty of Conſcience* to thoſe of the Popiſh Religion, and would permit the exerciſe thereof with ſome reſtriction; This being denyed, it drove thoſe miſerable men unadviſedly to pernicious Counſels.

† *He ſought to clear all the Jeſuits of thoſe practiſes whith they themſelves have now confeſſed* ex ore proprio. Proceedings, *ibid.*

Even at the time of Garnets *Tryal was current throughout the Town a report of a Retractation under* Bates *his hand, of his accuſation of* Greenwell. Proceedings, *ibid.*

Here

Here the Earl of *Northampton* and *Cecil*, (who together with the Earl of *Nottingham*, *Suffolk*, *Worcester* and *Devonshire*, did sit as Judges in that Cause) *interposed*, affirming that the King never gave them any hope of liberty, nor ever engaged his word for it; but factious persons did maliciously throw such a report abroad, that they might have a pretence wherewith to excuse both themselves, and such as they were, for the Seditions which they raised in the Kingdom.

At length being Convicted and found Guilty, they are *condemned* to the punishment wont to be inflicted by the Laws of the Realm upon Rebels and Traytors.

Everard Digby, *Robert Winter*, *John Grant*, and *Thomas Bates* were *Executed* at *London*, nigh the Western Gate of St. *Paul's* Church in the later end of *January*. The day following, *Tho. Winter*, *Ambrose Rookwood*, *Robert Keies*, and *Guido Fawks*, who confessed that they had wrought in the Vault, were *Executed* at *Westmonaster* in the Old Palace yard near the Parliament house.

Upon this many, who for this cause were banished, or of their own accord changed their Native Soil, were most courteously *received* at *Calice*, by *Dominick Wikes*, the Governour there; for so the King commanded. *Vicus.*

Of whom one was of such a perverse mind that when *Wikes* did shew himself to bewail his and his Companions fortune, and for their comfort added, *Though they had lost their Native Countrey, yet by the Kings grace they had a Neighbouring one allowed them.* Nay, saith the other, *It is the least part of our grief, that we are banished our Native Countrey, and that we are forced to change our Soil, because every good man counts that his Countrey where he can be well: this doth truly and heartily grieve us, that we could not bring so generous and wholsom a design to perfection.*

Which as soon as *Vicus* contrary to his expectation, had heard he could hardly for anger abstain from throwing that man into the Sea, who gloryed in such a Plot as was damned by all men. For so I remember I have heard *Vicus* often say, when together with *Alexander Delbenius*, he came courteously upon the account of our Ancient friendship to visit me, a little before he went from us.

The

The Plot being diſcovered, the Parliament among publick rejoycings was held with great ſecurity. To whom *the King made* a moſt weighty *Oration*, and ſet forth the inexpreſſible Mercy of God over all his works, towards Himſelf, his Family, and His whole Kingdom, largely aggravating the thing from its ſeveral circumſtances. This *temperament* being * with great Juſtice added, That he *did not ſay, All that were addicted to the Romiſh Religion were to be included as guilty of this Crime: for that there were many among them, who although they are involved in Popiſh Errors (ſo he called them) yet had they not loſt their true Loyalty to Princes, but did obſerve the Duty both of a Chriſtian man, and of a good Subject; and that he in return had good thoughts of them: and that he thought the Severity of the Puritans was worthy of flames, who deny that any Papiſt can be received into Heaven.*

* *And this concluſion with no leſs truth*; That as upon the one part many honeſt men, ſeduced with ſome errors of Popery, may yet remaine good & faithful Subjects:

So as on the other part, none of thoſe that truly know and believe the whole ground, and School concluſions of their Doctrine, can ever prove either good Chriſtians or faithful Subjects. *He had ſaid a little before*, That many honeſt men blinded peradventure with ſome opinions of Popery, yet do they either not know, or at leaſt not believe all the true grounds of Popery, which is indeed the myſterie of Iniquity.

This likewiſe was worthy the Wiſdom of a moſt juſt Prince, that he did Judge that no *Forreign Prince* nor Commonwealth, nor none that did manage affairs for them had any hand in this Conſpiracy, as who did judg of them according to his own mind and temper, and would think of others what he would that they ſhould think of him.

Therefore he did will and require, that when any mention ſhould be made of this Conſpiracy in Parliament, every one ſhould ſpeak and think honourably of them. Which thing was done for the reſpect that he bore to the *Spaniards*, with whom deſiring to keep that peace which he of late made with them, he would not leave any the leaſt appearance of an alienated affection, or a ſuſpicious mind.

He added this moſt generouſly, That, *he would that all men ſhould underſtand, that reſting in Gods protection, the tranquility and quiet of his mind was not at all diſturbed by this accident, and that he did wiſh that his breaſt were tranſparent to all, that*

that his People might behold the moſt ſecret receſſes of his heart.

But when he judged it might conduce much to Example and Publick Security, that he ſhould ſeverely puniſh the Authors of ſo horrid a Crime, and becauſe there was a ſuſpition ariſing from Letters, Confeſſions and Proofs made, that *Gerard* alias *Bræk*, *Hen. Garnet*, *Oſwald Teſmond* alias *Greenwell*, were either privy to, or promoters of this Conſpiracy; therefore upon the XVIII. *of the Kalends of* February, *a Proclamation* 14 *Jan.* *is publiſhed againſt them*, and a reward propoſed to him that ſhould diſcover and bring them to their Tryal, as alſo a Penalty added againſt thoſe who after the publiſhing of this Proclamation ſhould entertain, nouriſh, conceal, or be any way aiding the perſons named in that Proclamation, or ſhould at all indeavour that thoſe who are accuſed of this horrid Crime ſhould not be found out and apprehended.

In order hereunto *diligent ſearch* is made, and ſtrict enquiry after them, who concealed themſelves; at length *Hen. Garnet* and ———*Hall* and *Garnets Servant* were *taken* in the houſe of *Abington* a Papiſt, and ſent to* *London*, and caſt into the *Tower*. The wretched Servant for fear leaſt he ſhould be forced by torments to accuſe his Maſter, or deſpairing upon ſome other account, did lay violent hands upon himſelf in the Priſon, and with a blunt knife (for he was not permitted to have a keen one by him) he *cut up his own Belly*, and drew out his Bowels: and although his wound was bound up yet before he could be Examined, he dyed.

Garnet was *very gently uſed* in his Impriſonment, as he himſelf afterward confeſſed.

At firſt he denyed all things; and when it did appear that nothing could be drawn from him voluntarily, and the King that he might avoid calumny was unwilling to uſe *torments* upon him, reſolves by craft to illude his *cautious* pertinacy, and to bring him to larger Confeſſions (who would anſwer little or nothing) *whether he would or not.*

He ſecretly imploys a man, who by deep groans, and frequent complaints againſt the King, and his Counſellors,

and the deplorable condition of the Catholicks in *England*, did in the end perſwade *Garnet* that he was Popiſhly enclined, and ſo crept into intimate familiarity with him. This man he ſends with *a Letter to a Gentlewoman*, that was Impriſoned for her Religion, who kept her family at *Whitweb* and other places, and received with great hoſpitality thoſe whom he commended to her. In which Letter he wrote plainly, and yet ſparingly: what things he had already confeſſed, what he was not yet examined upon, and by what meaſs he would excuſe thoſe things (which he had confeſſed) and conceal theſe.

He wrote likewiſe to *Rookwood* the Prieſt, who was Priſoner in another Priſon, and wrote his *Letter* with Ink in the middle, about ſome familiar matters that any one might read, but left broad Margents on both ſides, which he filled with his Secrets, *written with the juice of an Orange*, denying all whatſoever he had confeſſed before the Lords. As to the *Spaniſh* Expedition, he ſaid he had obtained the Kings Pardon. As to this laſt Conſpiracy he ſhould avoid Judgment, becauſe he knew they could make no ſufficient proofs againſt him. But however it went, he added, having too high an opinion of himſelf, that which was ſpoken of the only Redeemer of the world, It would be neceſſary that one man ſhould die for the People.

The Letter was by the Kings Councellors, who ſmelt out the cunning, held to the fire, and preſently the writing appear'd, and the fraud was diſcovered.

He being every day more and more confident of his inſtructed Keeper, told him he did exceedingly deſire to have ſome conference with *Hall*, his Companion. He promiſed to bring it about, and brought both of them to a place where they might eaſily hear one another, and where he himſelf to avoid all ſuſpition might be ſeen by them both. In the mean time, *he placed two men of known credit near the place* who (they knowing no ſuch thing, and minding only the return of their Keeper who was gone abroad) might hear whatſoever paſſed between them. There each of them freely diſcover'd what they had confeſſed, what they had been Examined about, what excuſes and evaſions (for theſe were their words) they had

had prepared for every particular, and many other ſuch things, which being carefully taken, were delivered to the Counſel in writing. The next day (the Priſoners ſuſpecting no ſuch thing) Delegates from the King came to them, and Examine *Garnet* and *Hall* a part, and object to them that they had yeſterday held private conference with one another.

Garnet thinking they ſpoke this only upon conjecture † ſtifly denyed it, and forſwore it upon the word of a Prieſt.

† *upon his Soul, reiterating it with ſo many deteſtable execrations, as wounded the Lords hearts to hear him.* Proceedings, Y 3.

At laſt, *Hall* having confeſſed the Fact, and he finding that there was no avoiding it, begged Pardon for his contrary aſſeveration which he ſought to elevate by a *forced* Interpretation or Equivocation. And profeſſing that he would ſpeak the truth ingenuouſly, He anſwered, that *he had hitherto ſo conſtantly denyed it, becauſe he knew that no man (living) but one,* (*he meant* Greenwel,) *could accuſe him as guilty of the late Fact. But now that he ſaw himſelf encompaſſed with ſuch a cloud of witneſſes, he would no longer diſſemble, but did confeſs that above* V *moneths agone he was acquainted by* Greenwell *with the whole matter. That before that,* Catesby *had in general told him that the Catholicks in* England *were attempting ſome great thing as to Religion, and aſked whether if good men ſhould be involved in the danger, this were to be made matter of Conſcience. But that he, who had a contrary command from the Pope, that he ſhould not engage in any Conſpiracy refuſed to hear any further of it. That he did pour out Prayers for the good ſucceſs of the great cauſe, and amongſt other things, uſed the Hymn that was commonly Sung in the Church, but intended nothing elſe when he did ſo, but only prayed God that in the next Parliament no grievous Lawes might be made againſt the Recuſants*: ſo they are called in *England*, who keeping within their own houſes, have their liberty and refuſe to Joyne in *worſhip* with the Proteſtants.

Garnet being *twenty times Examined*, between *the Eids of* Febr. *and the* VII *of the Calends of* April, two dayes after he is arraigned at the Publick Tribunal in *London*:* [*Guild Hall.*]

12 *Feb.* and 26 *Mar.*

* *The reaſon whereof the Earl of* Salisbury *declared at his Tryal.* See the Proceedings, Y

Here the Crimes are layed to the *charge* of the Priſoner, by Sir *John Crook*, which are afterwards enlarged on in a long Speech by Sir *Edward Cook*, the Kings Attorney General. Then

Then after *Garnet* had ſaid ſomething for himſelf, and eſpecially ſomething concerning Equivocation, he was Examined by *Cecil* and others, that ſate as Judges in that caſe. And laſtly, *the Earl of* Northampton made a long and elaborate *diſcourſe* againſt him, in which he largely handled the Authority which the Popes arrogate to themſelves of depoſing Princes, and diſcuſſed that Chapter of *Nos ſanctorum*, the ground, as he ſaid, *of this and ſuch like Conſpiracies.*

At length *Sentence is paſſed* by the *Lord Chief Juſtice of the Kings Bench*, that *Garnet* ſhould be Drawn, Hanged, and Quartered.

His Plea for himſelf was only this, that although he did a long time before know of the Conſpiracy, by common fame and Rumours, (for *Greenwell* only informed him of all the particulars; but under the Seal of Confeſſion, by the Laws of which he was forbidden to diſcover it to any man living): yet that he did admoniſh *Greenwell* to deſiſt from the Fact which he did very much diſapprove of, and to hinder others engaged in Conſcience or privity in it.

Here *Cecill* ſeverely *reproved him*; 'For, ſaid he, if he did 'diſapprove of the Fact, why did he afford *Greenwell* the be- 'nefit of Abſolution before he had by his penitence given teſti- 'mony that he did truly and from his heart deteſt the Fact? 'Furthermore, when as he underſtood the matter from *Catesby*, 'where there was no Seal of Confeſſion, this was ſufficient to 'have made a diſcovery of the Plot if he had ſo highly abhorred 'it as he did pretend.

But there were other things that lay heavy upon his charge, and theſe chiefly which were amongſt *his Confeſſions*, written with his own hand and ſent to the King, *viz.* 'That *Greenwell* 'did acquaint him with this not as with a ſin (he had to confeſs) 'but as an Act which he well enough underſtood, and in which 'he required his advice and counſel.

'That *Catesby* and *Greenwell* came to him to require his 'advice upon the matter, and that the whole buſineſs might 'be reſolved among them. That *Teſmund* (for ſo he was 'now called, who e'rewhile was *Greenwell*) and he, did not 'long agone conſult together in *Eſſex* of the Particulars of this 'Conſpiracy.

'Conspiracy. Lastly, when *Greenwell* asked who should be 'Protector of the Kingdom; *Garnet* answered, that that 'answer ought to be deferred till they saw how things should 'go.

When these things were brought to his remembrance, and did make it appear that he knew of the Conspiracy otherwise then by the way of Confession, all that he answered was, that whatsoever he had signed with his own hand, was true.

Being *brought to Execution* the Third of *May* being *Inventio crucis* [*Holy rood day*] he said, 'he came thither that day to 'find an end at length of all the crosses that he had born in this 'life; that none were ignorant of the cause of his punishment; 'that he had sinned against the King in concealing it; that he 'was sorry for it, and humbly begged the Kings Pardon: that 'the Plot against the King and Kingdom was bloody, and 'which if it had taken effect he should have detested with all 'his heart, and that so horrid and inhumane a Fact should be 'attempted by Catholicks, was that that grieved him more 'then his death. Then he added many things in defence of *Anne Vaux*, who was held in Prison, and *lay under great suspition* upon his account.

Being accused that he had while Q. *Eliz.* was alive received certain *Breves* from *Rome*, in which he and the Peers inclined to Popery were admonished, *that when that miserable Woman should happen to die, they should admit of no Prince, how nearly soever related in blood, but such as should not only tolerate the Catholick Faith, but by all means promote it*; he said, he had burnt them, the King being received for King. And when he was again Examined upon the same things, he referred *Henry Montacute* who asked him about it, to his Confessions subscribed by him. *v. Proceedings*, Q. 3. *The Recorder of* London.

Being taxed for sending *Edmund Bainham* to *Rome*, not to return to the City before the *Plot should take* effect; This he thus excused, 'as if he had not sent him upon that account; but 'that he might inform the Pope of the calamitous state of *Eng-* 'land, and consult with him what course the Catholicks should 'take; and therefore referred them again to his Confessions.

Then

Then he kneeled down upon the Stage *to his Prayers*, and looking about hither and thither, did ſeem to be diſtreſſed for the loſs of his life, and to hope a Pardon would be brought him from the moſt merciful Prince: *Montacute* admoniſhed him that he ſhould no longer think of life, but if he knew of *any Treachery* againſt the King or Kingdom, that he ſhould as a dying man preſently diſcover it; for that it was now no time to Equivocate. At which words *Garnet* being ſomewhat moved, made anſwer, 'that he knew the time did not admit 'of *Equivocation*; that how far and when it is lawful to Equi-'vocate he had otherwhere delivered his opinion, that now he 'did not equivocate, and that he knew nothing but what he 'had confeſſed. Then he excuſed himſelf that he did *at firſt diſſemble* before the Lords; 'That he did ſo becauſe he did not 'think they had had ſuch teſtimony and proof againſt him, 'till they did produce it; which when they did produce, he 'thought it as honourable for him to confeſs, as it would have 'been at firſt to have accuſed himſelf. He added many things 'to *excuſe Greenwell*, profeſſing that unleſs he thought he were 'out of danger, he would not have diſcovered the guilt of his 'dear Brother in this Conſpiracy. Then praying that the * Catholicks in *England* might not ſare the worſe upon his account, he *croſſed himſelf*, and after he had commended his Soul to God, the Ladder being taken away, he was hang'd to death.

* He ſaid alſo, *I exhort them all to take heed they enter not into any Treaſons, Rebellions, or Inſurrections againſt the King.*

In his behalf *Andreas Eudaimon-Johannes* a *Creſion*, of the ſame Society, wrote an † *Apology, in anſwer to Sir* Edw. Cokes (Book Intituled) *Actio in Proditores*, (for ſo much the Title doth imply) publiſhed four years after, and approved by *Claudius Aquaviva* Provincial of the Society, in which chiefly the Doctrine of *Equivocation* is defended and explained from Scripture, Fathers, Schoolmen, and Thomiſts; and the neceſſity and matter of *the Seal of Secreſie or Confeſſion* is debated, and the chief *heads of his Accuſation* are *anſwered*; the *Speech of the Earl of* Northampton is refuted. Moreover he doth endeavour to evince that *Garnet* never knew any thing of the Conſpiracy but by *the way of* Confeſſion; and that he did always abhor the Treaſon.

† *Againſt which* Robert Abbot *wrote his* Antilogia, edit. Lond. 1613. 4.

Then

Then ſome things are related of *his Conſtancy at his Death*, which are not related in the Hiſtory of it. And as a concluſion of his Commentary, there is the memorable *Story of the Straw* upon which the Effigies of the Dead was ſeen, at which he ſaith his Adverſaries were very much diſturbed.

Whiles the Body was quartered by the Hangman, ſome drops of blood fell upon the Straw that was there provided to light the fire. *John Wilkinſon* who was there preſent, that he might *gather* ſome relique of the Body of *Garnet*, carried home with him an Ear, that was ſprinkled with blood, and depoſited it with a Gentlewoman, who kept it with great veneration in a Chriſtal-glaſs. Afterward it was obſerved with great admiration, that the Effigies of *Garnet* was plainly expreſſed in that blood. Hu. Griffith's *wife.*

Then with great Zeal was the fame of the Miracle ſpread abroad; which others did preſently elude by a contrary conſtruction; ſaying, 'It ought to ſeem no wonder if a man 'brought up among Exiles in *Flanders*, improved at *Rome* in '*Italy*, authorized to a Conſpiracy in his own Countrey, and 'breathing nothing but revenge, did as long as he lived thirſt 'after the blood of his Countreymen, ſhould when dead deſerve 'to be pictured in blood. So dangerous a thing it is in theſe corrupt times to ſay any thing for the honour of any man in thoſe things which do exceed belief and the common courſe of Nature, which may not preſently be retorted to his diſparagement.

This end had *this Conſpiracy*; the ſtrangeſt that either our, or former ages do make mention of, for contrivance, daringneſs, or cruelty. For it is often heard of, and fame doth deliver it down to poſterity, that many Princes are cut off by Treachery, many Common-wealths are attempted by the ſnares and falſhood of their Enemies; But no Countrey, no Age ever bred ſuch a Monſter of Conſpiracy as this, wherein the King with the Queen, the Parents with their whole Iſſue, all the States of the Kingdom, the whole Kingdom it ſelf, and in it innumerable Innocents ſhould all be deſtined to one Deſtruction in one moment, for a Sacrifice to the luſt of a few enraged Minds.

But

But it was very well, that that Monſter, which they themſelves that bear the blame of it, do both by word and writing every where deteſt, being ſo long before conceived at home, ſhould be ſtrangled in the birth before ever it ſee the light.

A little while after, *Iſaac Caſaubon* when he went into *England*, thinking of nothing leſs than to be engaged in this buſineſs, upon occaſion of *another Apology* ſent to him, and by him delivered to the King of *Great Britain*, wrote an Elegant *Epiſtle to Fronto Ducæus*, in which he ſheweth, that *Garnet* knew otherwiſe then under the Seal of Confeſſion of the Powder Conſpiracy, by his own Confeſſion and Teſtimony written with his own hand, and doth at large diſcuſs the Doctrine of *Equivocation*, as enſnaring and pernicious, againſt the Arguments of *Eudæmon-Johannes*. Againſt which, not *Ducæus*, but *Eudæmon-Johannes* doth rail ſufficiently.

FINIS.